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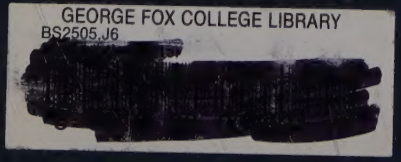

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ST. PAUL THE ORATOR

WITHDRAWN

A CRITICAL, HISTORICAL, AND EXPLANATORY
COMMENTARY ON THE SPEECHES OF ST. PAUL

BY

MAURICE JONES, B.D.

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PREFACE

If the appearance of the present volume seems to call for any justification, it is to be found in the fact that, as far as the Author has been able to discover, no work has been published in English, and no translation of a Continental treatise, which deals with the Speeches of St. Paul as a whole. They have been treated separately in all Commentaries on the Acts, and in that extensive branch of literature which has grown out of the study of the life and labours of the great Apostle. The nearest approach to anything like a collection of the Pauline Speeches is found in Dr. Chase's valuable work on *The Credibility of the Acts*, but this is confined to the Sermons of the Missionary field, and contains no reference to the Speeches of the trial. It will be readily understood that, under these circumstances, my task has been not so much to produce an original work, as to collate, and mould into one homogeneous whole, the abundant and excellent material placed at my disposal by the labours of others. I have, however,

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not hesitated to express my own opinions firmly when occasion arises. I have to make a general acknowledgment of the valuable assistance I have received from the works of Prof. Sir W. M. Ramsay, whose writings are indispensable to the student of Paulinism, and to whom I am indebted very largely in those portions of the book which deal with the Hellenistic training and sympathies of St. Paul, and with his work in Asia Minor; to Mr. Rackham, whose excellent Commentary on the Acts is peculiarly rich in those parts which treat of the Speeches, of which I have made extensive use; to Dr. Chase for the assistance that I have received from the treatise already referred to, more especially in the matter of the relation of the Speeches to the Pauline Epistles; to Dr. Knowling, who, in *The Testimony of St. Paul to Christ*, has devoted considerable space and attention to the Speeches; and to Prof. McGiffert, whose criticisms in his *Apostolic Age* are illuminating, and, on the whole, exceedingly rational.

A special acknowledgment of ideas and information derived from various other sources will be found in the notes at the foot of the pages throughout the volume.

The body of the book was complete before I had the opportunity of reading Dr. Percy Gardner's most interesting article on "The Speeches of St. Paul" in the

Cambridge Biblical Essays. His criticisms are, in most cases, already dealt with in this work, and his arguments have not led me to modify the conclusions at which I had arrived. It is a matter for congratulation that an article, which acknowledges the Lucan authority of the Acts, and is, on the whole, favourable to the authenticity of the Speeches, should have proceeded from such a source.

The Chronology of the period adopted in the work is that of Mr. Turner in the article on "Chronology" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.*

The Revised Version is printed with the kind permission of the Delegates and Syndics of Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The Author is, however, solely responsible for the Text as it appears here.

As the book is intended, not only for the student, but also for the general reader, the use of Greek has been avoided, except in those cases where the exigencies of the context absolutely demanded it.

MAURICE JONES.

Gosport.

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INTRODUCTION

ST. PAUL THE ORATOR.—Of all the designations which have attached themselves to the name of St. Paul, that of "the Missionary" is the most essential, and best describes his work and his function in the development and expansion of Christianity. Now to say that St. Paul was "the Missionary" *par excellence* because he was, in a large measure, also "the Orator" is not to utter a truism, but to proclaim a fact of the greatest significance. If the power to produce striking effects, and a marvellous facility of adapting himself to every class of hearer and to every variety of conditions, be the marks of a true orator, we are bound to confess that the Apostle possessed them in no small degree. It may be argued that he was as much indebted for the success of his preaching to the character of his message as to his own eloquence, but even the Gospel of Jesus Christ, apart from an impressive and striking utterance, could not have met with the success it achieved in the person of St. Paul. The effect of his first recorded sermon at Antioch in Pisidia, which brought the whole city to listen to him on the following Sabbath (Acts xiii. 44); the burning eloquence which filled the conscience-stricken Felix with fear and awe (Acts xxiv. 25); the impassioned oratory which moved Festus to exclaim that he was mad (Acts xxvi. 24); the persuasiveness which fascinated and kept quiet a howling mob of Jews

thirsting for his life (Acts xxii. 2),—all these tell the same tale, and assure us that among the many and outstanding gifts possessed by the Apostle, that of speech was not the least. High Roman officials, Jewish kings, crowds of heathen, whether among the *dilettanti* of Athens or the peasants of Lystra, all acknowledge the power of that magic voice. Once, and once only, in his final attempt at Athens, is he recorded to have failed to produce the impression that had become the commonplace accompaniment of his preaching. That the failure on this occasion was due, not to the lack of oratorical power on the part of the speaker, but to the introduction of the topic of the Resurrection, which was repugnant to his audience, is conclusively proved by the narrative in the Acts. It is true that in 2 Cor. x. 10 there is a statement which seems to imply that his gifts as a speaker were of a comparatively mean order and such as to bring him into contempt, but it must be borne in mind that the criticism in question is a quotation from a hostile document, and is to be judged accordingly. Furthermore, it is only too probable that the criticism implied disparagement, not so much of his actual powers of speech, as of the method he adopted to present his particular doctrine to his audience. In the Epistles to the Corinthians constant stress is laid by the Apostle on the fact that he did not employ among them the ordinary "dialectic" of the Greek teacher in his preaching of the Christian Gospel. Cf. 1 Cor. i. 17, "to preach the Gospel not in wisdom of words"; the emphasis laid on the wisdom and foolishness of God as contrasted with the wisdom and foolishness of men in 1 Cor. i. 18–31; ii. 1, "I came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom"; ii. 4, "My speech and my preaching were not in persuasive words of wisdom."

It is by no means improbable that his failure at

Athens, where he adapted himself to his audience by adopting the philosophic method, may have led him to abandon that form of teaching during his mission at Corinth, and that the very simplicity of his style, and the absence of the logical subtlety, so attractive to the Greek mind, gave rise to the disparaging remark which he himself quotes, and which declares his speech to be "contemptible." To the unlettered crowd at Lystra there was but one name which could do justice to the brilliancy of his eloquence, that of Mercury, the herald of the gods.

THE SPEECHES OF ST. PAUL.—Of the utterances of this Apostolic orator five only of any length have been preserved, but we have six others whose value lies not so much in the quantity as in the quality of their contents. Of these all except one are recorded by St. Luke in the Acts, while the one exception has been preserved for us by St. Paul himself in his Epistle to the Galatians.

THE SPEECHES IN THE ACTS, A SELECTION.—It is at once apparent that in the speeches inserted in the Acts we have only a very small proportion of the Pauline utterances. Fifteen years of active missionary work, from his first introduction to the Church of Syrian Antioch by Barnabas to his arrival in Rome, must have meant sermons and addresses innumerable, all of which are irreparably lost, save the small selection so carefully preserved by St. Luke, together with the one example for which we have to thank St. Paul himself. But although we have only a selection, and that a limited one, it is of the most precious value, because of the careful method and purpose employed in its compilation. It has been suggested[1] that the character of the selection is due to the Apostle himself, and that in this matter St. Luke is following his master's instructions.

[1] Chase, *The Credibility of the Acts*, p. 171.

It is essentially a selection with a purpose, and contains types and examples of the Apostle's addresses under almost any conceivable set of conditions. The method of selection is manifested, first of all, by the character of the *audiences* to which the individual speeches are addressed, as the following enumeration will show.

We have—

1. A selection of his Missionary Sermons delivered—
   (*a*) To the Jews of the "dispersion" and those in sympathy with Jewish ideals in the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia (Acts xiii. 16–41).
   (*b*) To heathen.
      (i) To the unlettered crowd at Lystra (Acts xiv. 15–17).
      (ii) To the educated Greeks at Athens (Acts xvii. 22–31).

2. An address to a Christian assembly. A pastoral charge.
   The address to the Elders of the Ephesian Church at Miletus (Acts xx. 18–35).

3. The speeches of the trial, apologetic in character.
   To Jews—
      (i) To the crowd from the Castle steps (Acts xxii. 1–21).
      (ii) To the Sanhedrin (Acts xxiii. 1–6).
      (iii) To the Jews at Rome (Acts xxviii. 17–28).
   To Roman officials—
      (i) Before Felix (Acts xxiv. 10–21).
      (ii) Before Festus (Acts xxv. 10–12).
   To the world at large—
      Before Agrippa, the Jewish king, at the pro-consular court at Cæsarea (Acts xxvi. 2–29).

The speech in Gal. ii. 14–21 would come under the second heading, being addressed to a gathering of Christians.

The method of selection is no less evident when we consider the *localities* with which the speeches are connected. Thus we have records of his addresses at the great centres of imperial and provincial life, at Jerusalem (Acts xxii. 1–21; xxiii. 1–6); at Antioch in Pisidia (Acts xiii. 16–41); at Ephesus, represented by the address at Miletus (Acts xx. 18–35); at Athens (Acts xvii. 22–31); at Cæsarea (Acts xxiv. 10–21; xxv. 10–12; xxvi. 2–29); and at Rome (Acts xxviii. 17–28). The selection of speeches, although exceedingly limited in quantity, is by the variety and comprehensiveness of its contents, of the greatest importance, and redounds, in no small degree, to the credit of the author of the Acts as a historian of high rank.

The Authenticity of the Speeches.—It has hitherto been assumed that the Pauline speeches, as recorded in the Acts, constitute in the main actual historical utterances of the Apostle, and our judgment as to their value has been entirely based on this assumption. As the question of the authenticity is one of the most strongly debated points in connection with New Testament criticism, it is necessary to review the evidence upon which this conclusion is arrived at.

The problem of the speeches is necessarily involved in that of the authorship of the Acts, and our views as to their historicity will depend very largely, but not entirely, upon our verdict as to when, and by whom, the Acts was written. It is not within the purpose of this volume to enter into anything like a full discussion of this question of authorship, and only a brief survey of the present conditions of the problem is attempted here.

1. *The authorship of the Acts.* The undoubted tend-

ency of the most recent and the most authoritative criticism is to regard the whole book as the composition of the writer of the "we" document, and, therefore, of a companion of St. Paul. That the author of the Acts is identical with that of the third Gospel is acknowledged by all rational critics, and there seems little room to doubt that the tradition of the early Church which ascribed them to St. Luke, "the beloved Physician," is correct. This view has been considerably strengthened by the adhesion of Prof. Harnack, who in his latest publications, *St. Luke the Physician* and *The Acts of the Apostles*, expresses himself strongly to this effect.[1] The Lucan authorship is, on the other hand, strenuously denied by the great body of Continental criticism, represented by such names as Weizsacker, Phleiderer, Julicher, Holtzmann, Keim, Clemen, and Von Manen, by all of whom it is regarded as a second-century document, written, according to some, as early as 100 A.D., while others, as *e.g.* Von Manen, place it as late as 150 A.D. The views of these authorities as to the value of the book vary considerably. To some it has practically little or no historical value, because the author has simply projected the history of the Church of his own period into the Apostolic age, and manufactured a conception of the ecclesiastical position during the first century, not according to what it was, but what he imagined it ought to be, and has invented the facts to suit his conception. To others the Acts is a mere patchwork, consisting of materials and documents, some of considerable value, others of little or none, in which the function of the author is simply that of an editor, who has worked the materials into one fairly homogeneous whole, but who has often misunderstood the

[1] Zahn, in his latest work, is equally definite as to the Lucan authorship.

situation, and the book is, therefore, replete with errors and mistakes of the most serious description. An exhaustive study of the linguistic features of the book, as carried out by Harnack, seems to prove conclusively that it is the work of one single writer, who, in a considerable section of it, is relating experiences in which he himself took part, and in the remainder is working from well-authenticated sources. A strong argument that the author was a contemporary of the events recorded in his history is brought forward by Harnack,[1] where he states that one of the manifest objects of the writer is to explain "The Mission to the Gentiles." Now in the second century such a patent fact would require no explanation, and it is emphasized in the Acts, because the writer himself had taken a personal part in it, and had himself watched its development.

British criticism, as a whole, is inclined to accept the Lucan authorship, with the exception of Prof. Davidson, but there is a considerable bias in the direction of doubting its value as a historical document of unimpeachable veracity. Discrepancies when compared with the Epistles, more especially with the Epistle to the Galatians, strange gaps in the narrative, and a certain inequality of treatment, are said to justify this view.

The strongest upholder of the Lucan authorship and of the transcendent importance of the Acts in relation to the history of the early Church is Prof. Ramsay, who explains away the apparent discrepancies by stating that they arose simply from identifying wrong events, as *e. g.* Acts xv. with Gal. ii. 1–10. The other phenomena, viz. the occurrence of gaps, and the inequality of treatment, he ascribes to the purpose of the author, who only records critical events, and omits everything not absolutely relevant to his purpose. Moreover, the latest

[1] Harnack, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Intro., p. xxvii.

archæological researches, and more especially the labours of Prof. Ramsay himself, are demonstrating clearly that the historical and political conditions described in the Acts are emphatically those of the first, and not of the second, century of the Christian era. The changes in political geography and in provincial nomenclature, between 70 A.D. and 150 A.D. were so momentous, and so rapid, that it was a practical impossibility for a second-century writer to display such an accurate knowledge of first-century conditions as we find in the Acts.

On the strength of his archæological discoveries, and after a patient study of all the conditions of the problem, Prof. Ramsay[1] affirms without hesitation that the Acts is the "work of a historian of first rank, who commands excellent means of knowledge, either through personal acquaintance, or through access to original documents, and who brings to the treatment of his subject, genius, literary style, and historical insight into human character and movement of events," and that this writer is known to us as "St. Luke the Physician."

Prof. Harnack[2] is equally firm on the question of the Lucan authorship, but does not go all the way with Ramsay in his estimation of the historical value of the record. According to him the Acts is not only, on the whole, a genuine historical work, but it is, in the majority of its details, trustworthy. He is, however, prepared to acknowledge that the author betrays real weaknesses as a historian, as *e.g.*—

(1) In his credulity in reference to cases of miraculous healing, and of spiritual gifts;

(2) In a tendency to carelessness and inaccuracy, often of a very far-reaching influence, in his narrative;

(3) In a tendency to work up important situations.

[1] Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 2 ff.
[2] Harnack, *St. Luke the Physician*, p. 298.

But even on his own showing these weaknesses do not seriously impair the value of the document. The third weakness St. Luke shares with most ancient historians, while the first only appeals to those who, like Prof. Harnack, would discard the miraculous element altogether out of the sacred narative.

Harnack's[1] description of St. Luke's object in writing the Acts is illuminating, and worth quoting. "It was to show forth how the power and the spirit of Jesus in the Apostles founded the Christian community, called into being the mission to the Gentiles, conducted the Gospel from Jerusalem to Rome, and set the receptive world in the place of the Jewish nation, which hardened its heart more and more against the appeal of Christianity." To sum up, it is not too much to say that the Lucan authorship of the Acts is in a fair way of being established, while the absolute historical accuracy of the record still hangs in the balance.

2. *The authenticity of the Speeches not solved by the decision of the question of authorship.* The question of the authorship of the Acts, as a whole, does not solve the problem of the authenticity of the speeches.

In classical literature it by no means follows that, where speeches are found recorded in certain well-authenticated historical works, they were actually delivered by the persons to whom they are credited. It was the usual custom even on the part of historians of the rank of Thucydides, who frankly acknowledges the practice, to introduce speeches into their histories, which were never delivered at all, or which were manipulated to suit the historian's own conception of the situation. This practice was in vogue as late as the sixteenth century, as the historical writings of Machiavelli and Guicciardini prove. When, therefore, we find utterances

[1] Harnack, *St. Luke the Physician*, Intro., p. xxx.

of great men recorded in a work of undoubted historical value and accuracy, we are not at liberty to assume that the speeches possess a corresponding value to the remainder of the book. The question of the authenticity of the Pauline speeches, therefore, does not stand or fall with that of authorship of the Acts, but must be decided on Pauline grounds. No portion of the Acts has been more fiercely assailed than these very speeches, and authorities, who do not question the Lucan authorship of the Acts as a whole, do not necessarily assign the same value to the orations of St. Paul. Prof. Harnack,[1] who is the greatest upholder of the Lucan authorship, treating of the speeches, speaks of them definitely as the composition of the author, although he is of opinion there is something to be said in favour of the historicity of the address at Miletus. His general view of the speeches may be summed up in the following quotation: "Judging simply from the Epistles the Apostle would have spoken to Jews in substance as he did at Antioch, to educated Gentiles as he speaks at Athens, and would have addressed his own converts just as he does at Miletus."[2] His view is slightly more favourable in his later work on the Acts, as will be seen from the following quotations: "Of the historian's liberty to insert speeches at appropriate places in his work, whether reports of speeches actually made, or free compositions, St. Luke has made an extensive and happy use. The highest level is reached in the speeches of chapters xv., xvii., and xx., but the speeches at the beginning of the work are really fundamental in their Christology, and those at the close assure the readers that their great Apostle St. Paul was the divinely appointed instrument

[1] Harnack, *St. Luke the Physician*, p. 13.
[2] Vide *supra*, p. 138.

of the Mission, and the great witness for God before governors and kings."[1]

"The speech at Miletus is probably the most authentic, and we have here the report of words which St. Luke himself had heard."[2]

Speaking[3] of the three great Apostolic speeches in close succession in Acts xxii., xxiv., xxvi., he remarks that it is scarcely possible that they can be the product of pure invention, and suggests that unless these separate discourses rested upon some traditional foundation that seemed to the author trustworthy and important, we can hardly understand why one speech did not suffice for him.

With regard to his speech at Athens he makes the following statement—

"As for the speech at Athens, with its prelude in Acts xiv. ff., if only critics will again learn to see clearly, and to feel rightly, none of them will fail to recognize that in this attempt to give a short summary of the probable nature of St. Paul's fundamental teaching to Gentiles, the genius shown in the selection of ideas is just as great as the trustworthiness of the report."[4]

The school of extreme criticism, among whom we may number Davidson and Bacon, absolutely rejects the speeches, and regards them either as pure rhetorical exercises, or as being constructed in each case according to the author's conception of what the situation demanded. The views of this class of critic may be found summed up in Schmiedel's article on the Acts in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, from which they are reproduced here.

[1] Harnack, *Acts of the Apostles*, Intro., p. xxxvi.
[2] Vide *supra*, p. 129.
[3] Vide *supra*, pp. 130, 131.
[4] Vide *supra*, p. 131.

Objections to the authenticity of the Speeches. Although the question of the authenticity of each speech is treated separately in the succeeding chapters, it will not be out of place to set before the reader the objections which are raised against the genuineness of the speeches *as a whole.*

These may be summarized as follows—

1. The recognized practice of ancient authors of inserting in their historical books speeches which were never delivered renders it probable that this is also the case in the Acts.

2. The picture of the Apostle as reproduced in the speeches is inconsistent with what we know of him from the Epistles, and this is more especially the case with regard to his attitude towards the Jews. In the record of the speeches at Pisidian Antioch, Jerusalem, Cæsarea, and Rome, he displays strong Jewish proclivities, and, in every case, approaches the Jews first and the Gentiles afterwards. It is maintained that it is impossible to reconcile this with his own reiterated mission to the Gentiles as *e.g.* in Gal. ii. 7, "I had been entrusted with the Gospel of the uncircumcision, even as Peter with the Gospel of the circumcision."

3. His view of paganism, as displayed in the speeches at Lystra and Athens, is lacking in that severity and tone of condemnation which are so characteristic of his teaching elsewhere. This is specially marked in the conception of idolatry attributed to him in his speech at Athens (Acts xvii. 29), where it is regarded as due to excusable ignorance, which is not in accord with his teaching in the Epistle to the Romans, where it is stated to have arisen from the deliberate and criminal rejection of God.

4. (*a*) The speeches are inconsistent with each other, more especially the defensive addresses of the trial.

(*b*) In many cases they are mere repetitions of other speeches which occur in the New Testament.

5. They embody a theology quite different from that of the Epistles.

Answers to the objections. These objections will now be dealt with in the order in which they have been stated.

1. The existence of such a practice does not demand that it should obtain universally. The author of the Acts may, or may not, have interpolated speeches which were never delivered, but the question must be decided on other grounds.

2. The most serious argument against the authenticity is that which maintains that they represent the Apostle as acting, and speaking, in a manner which seems to imply a lack of consciousness on his part of his special Mission to the Gentiles. At Antioch in Pisidia he gains access to the Gentiles through the Synagogue. At Athens he addresses himself first of all to his fellow-countrymen, though with but little success, before he turns his attention to the Athenian public in the Agora. In his speech at Miletus he describes his ministry as directed to Jew and Greek. In his apologetic speeches in Jerusalem and Cæsarea he lays the most marked emphasis on his Jewish nationality, his Jewish training, and his Jewish devotion, and when he arrives in Rome his first care is to notify the Jewish leaders in the Imperial City, and to ask for an interview. It is maintained that it is impossible to reconcile this description of the Apostle's language and practice with those of St. Paul of the Epistles with his stern, severe condemnation of the Jews, his apparent hostility towards them, and his undoubted devotion to the Gentile section of the Christian Church. The speeches are, therefore, said to present a picture of the Apostle which is not true

to well-authenticated facts, and must consequently be rejected.

Now it is quite clear that St. Paul, from the very moment of his conversion when his Apostolic Mission was entrusted to him by our Lord, regarded himself as in a special sense the Apostle of the Gentiles; but this is no proof that he was not at the same time to minister in the same capacity to his fellow-countrymen when occasion arose. There was undoubtedly in his conception of his Apostolic Mission, as in many other Pauline conceptions, a process of development, and he did not at once realize its full significance. The germs were present from the moment of his conversion and the receipt of our Lord's message, but it needed the experience of years of missionary work and travel within the Empire before he fully realized the magnitude of the task entrusted to him, or learnt the best methods of accomplishing that task. Hence his missionary methods are, in no small degree, dictated by circumstances. It is surely a mistake to represent the Apostle as regarding the Jews with any degree of hostility, except in those cases where their machinations tended to destroy the liberty of the Christian Gentile and to limit the boundaries of the Christian Church by Jewish exclusiveness. In the large heart of St. Paul, with his ideas of the catholicity of the Church of Christ, and the universality of the grace of God, there was room for all, Jew and Gentile, Greek and barbarian. A study of the Epistle to the Romans is sufficient to convince the unbiassed observer that the Apostle was filled with a consuming love for his fellow-countrymen, a love which would stoop to any sacrifice on behalf of its object, and that the crowning sorrow of his life was the rejection of the grace of God by his own people, which must be followed by their rejection from the fold of Christ. There were other

reasons, apart from the Apostle's intense patriotism, why, even in pursuance of his Mission to the Gentiles, the first approach should be made through the Jewish communities scattered throughout the empire. Organization and system played a most important part in his missionary labours, and he would instinctively realize the enormous advantage conferred by the presence of Jews, in large numbers, in all the great provincial centres. Through the Jews to the God-fearing Gentiles, and through the God-fearing Gentile to the heathen Gentile, pure and simple, was the natural method that would suggest itself to a Grecian Jew, who was the herald of a Gospel which was to bring good tidings to Jew and Gentile alike. The narrative in the Acts also seems to imply, what is undoubtedly a fact, that the progress of the Apostle's missionary experiences served more and more to emphasize his special Mission to the Gentiles. The fact that the other Apostles confined their ministrations, in a large measure, to the Judaic world would naturally tend to drive St. Paul to the Gentile communities, and his all but universal experience led him to perceive that the future of the Gospel of Christ lay chiefly among the Gentiles, and that among them, and not among his own race, the richest harvest was to be gathered for Christ. Nor must we forget the effect of Imperial ideas on the Apostle, ideas which are clearly traceable from the time when he first came into contact with the Imperial officials at the court of the proconsul in Cyprus, and which are revealed in his choice of centres of work, routes of travel, and in his growing conception of Christianity as a world-wide, Imperial religion.

It seems apparent, therefore, that the Apostle's consciousness of his special Mission to the Gentiles, although present from the moment of his conversion, only devel-

oped to its full growth with the force of circumstances, and that the incidents of his missionary tours, and the influence of Imperial ideas, had no small share in manifesting to him its full significance. There is, therefore, no real contradiction between the portrait of the Epistles, with its deep emphasis on the Gentile character of his Mission, for reasons of controversy, and the representation of the speeches, where we see the Apostle striving to realize that Mission by utilizing to the full every opportunity and advantage, and thus reaching the Gentile through the Jew.

The intense patriotism of the speeches finds a complete analogy in the Epistle to the Romans.[1]

3 and 4. Objection 3, which is mainly concerned with the speeches at Lystra and Athens, 4*a*, which refers to the speech at Pisidian Antioch, and 4*b*, which is a criticism of the speeches of the trial, will be considered in the chapters where these speeches are treated in detail, and it is only necessary at this point to state that they do not seem to be of sufficient strength to justify the extreme conclusions that are based on them.

5. It is difficult to see how the objection that the speeches embody a theology different from that of the Epistles can be maintained, because it is all but impossible to institute a comparison. The Epistles are in every case addressed to Christian communities or individuals, while the speeches in the Acts, with one exception, are delivered to unconverted Jews and Gentiles. It is also a fact of wide significance that the one address delivered before a Christian audience is the one that is acknowledged, even by the most extreme critics, to be most in accord with the Pauline Epistles.

[1] The preceding paragraph is mainly dependent upon McGiffert's *Apostolic Age*, pp. 182 ff.

We have only to realize the difference in character between the Epistles and the speeches to be able to account fully for the differences in the doctrinal and theological standpoint. It is the natural distinction between the germ and the fully developed product. To use another figure, in the speeches the Apostle is laying the foundation, in the Epistles we see the building gradually rising to its full height. The speeches present the Gospel in all its simplicity, whereas in the Epistles it has to be stated in such terms as will controvert hostile criticism, and they are, therefore, necessarily controversial in character.

Arguments in favour of the authenticity of the Speeches. It is generally acknowledged that St. Luke in the Acts does not give *verbatim* reports of the Pauline speeches. This is perfectly evident from the conciseness of the reports, which, in the case of the very longest of them, would not take more than five or six minutes to deliver. That some of the speeches occupied a much more considerable space of time than this is quite apparent, and the position maintained in this volume is, that, while they betray considerable proofs of editing on St. Luke's part, in the way of summarizing and epitomizing, many expressions and phrases being undoubtedly Lucan, the utterances are, in the main, those of the Apostle, and that through the major portion of their contents we are listening to the voice of St. Paul himself.

We are not entirely without evidence of the manner in which St. Luke performed the duties of an editor, in dealing with original documents. This can be learnt to some extent from similar work in his Gospel. By comparing the Synoptic Gospels, we are able to arrive at the probable original source which was the basis of St. Luke's account, and a comparison of his record with the

original shows the effect of the evangelist's work. In the words of Dr. Chase,[1] "While retaining the original ideas it gave to the composition greater fulness and elaboration, and a more distinctly literary flavour." He does not build upon the foundation of his "source" a superstructure of teaching of his own. We may, therefore, justifiably assume that he pursued the same policy with regard to St. Paul's speeches, and that they are, therefore, Pauline in essentials, in sentiment, in teaching, and in the personal characteristics which they exhibit, while their literary form may, in a considerable measure, be due to St. Luke.

THE SOURCES OF THE SPEECHES.—The fact that St. Luke was a close companion of the Apostle during the most pregnant portion of his Apostolic career, and, in some cases, actually present when the speeches were delivered, tends to support our view that in the Acts he is recording historic utterances. He was certainly present at Miletus when St. Paul delivered his charge to the Elders of the Ephesian Church (Acts xx. 15), and it is not impossible that he might have been with the Apostolic party during the First Missionary Journey in South Galatia,[2] and was, therefore, an eye-witness of the incidents at Antioch and Lystra. Eusebius[3] speaks of him as "by race of Antioch," while St. Jerome[4] describes him as "Lucas medicus Antiochensis," and although this is generally referred to Syrian Antioch, there is no absolute reason why Antioch in Pisidia should not be meant here. The use of "we" in Acts xiv. 22, would seem to support the view that the author himself shared in the experiences of the First Missionary

[1] Chase, *The Credibility of the Acts*, pp. 108 ff.
[2] Rackham, *Acts of the Apostles*, pp. xxxix. f.
[3] Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 4, 7.
[4] Hieron., *De Vir. illustr.*, 7.

Campaign. The narrative at this point is extremely vivid and exhibits very accurate geographical knowledge, and that in a region which is known to be liable to very frequent changes, and the impression we receive is that the writer is moving among surroundings with which he is perfectly familiar. The account of the incident at Antioch, no less than that of the excitement caused by the miracle at Lystra, seems almost to demand an eye-witness. But even if this theory should prove untenable, we know that he became a member of the Apostolic group within the next two or three years, and had, therefore, every opportunity of hearing, from the lips of the Apostle himself, an accurate narrative of the incidents of that epoch-making journey in S. Galatia, with all that it meant for the conversion of the Gentile world.

The speech at Athens he would also perhaps derive from the Apostle. At this time he seems to have been separated from St. Paul for some considerable period, and to have remained at Philippi when the Apostle continued his journey through Thessalonica, Berœa, and Athens, and to have rejoined him again at Philippi. From this point he becomes his constant companion until the last journey to Jerusalem is completed. We have certain evidence that he was present at Miletus, and that he was with the Apostle during the stay in Jerusalem, and the greater portion of the imprisonment at Cæsarea, is accepted here for reasons which are given later in this volume. If this be so, the speeches of the trial are recorded by one who had the inestimable advantage of being among the audience when they were delivered. The trustworthiness of the speeches is, therefore, in some measure, guaranteed by the fact that, in the case of many of them, they are reported by one who actually listened to them, and where this is not the case,

they are reproduced from materials supplied either by the speaker himself, or by his companions.

The Setting of the Speeches.—The great importance attached by St. Luke to the speeches is manifested by the finished and, in some cases, elaborate setting that he has designed for them. In every case the circumstances which led to the delivery of the speech are described in detail, and the results carefully recorded, both as they affect the Apostle personally and the welfare of the Church. Nothing which could impress the reader with their tremendous significance has been omitted. In the case of the speech before Agrippa the sense of the importance of the event is revealed in the unusually ornate description of the surroundings of the proconsular court and of the dramatic entrance and departure of the exalted personages who composed the audience.

It should be noted, however, that the carefulness of the setting is used by Davidson[1] as an argument against the speeches.

The Value of the Speeches.—1. *They supply us with the only available evidence of the character of St. Paul's Missionary Gospel.* The value of the speeches lies principally in the fact that they supply us with the only available evidence as to the character of St. Paul's missionary Gospel and missionary methods, and thus fill a serious gap in the record of Christian evangelization. Their loss would, therefore, be irreparable. It is too seldom remembered that the Pauline Gospel, as we find it in the Epistles, is not the primary Gospel, and does not, as a rule, represent the missionary message. It is the Gospel systematized, elaborated, and that, in most cases, under the stress of controversy, and it is not the original simple Gospel message which must have

[1] Davidson, *Intro. to New Testament*, vol. ii., p. 108.

constituted the first preaching to non-Christian Jew or Gentile. The primary Pauline Gospel we owe almost entirely to the speeches, and from this aspect they are invaluable. By means of them we are able to trace the Pauline system of doctrine from its very rudiments, from the simplicity of the first missionary message to the fully developed teaching of the Apostle as it is found in the Epistle to the Romans, and, still later, in the Epistles of the captivity.

For a period of fifteen years—and that the most active period of his life—the period of the great missionary pioneering, the speeches represent the only Pauline literature we possess, and if that literature had only begun with the Epistles to the Thessalonians, the Church would have been appreciably poorer, and the teaching of quite half of the Apostle's missionary career would have been lost. They stand for an all-important stage in the story of the progress of the Church, the ante-letterwriting period of St. Paul's ministry.[1]

2. *They reveal the Pauline missionary method.* They are important not merely as giving the contents of his missionary Gospel, but they reveal to us also his missionary methods. This point will be dealt with more fully in the next chapter.

3. *Their personal aspect.* They fill in details in the picture of the Apostle left vacant in the Epistles. Much that was vague, indistinct, and blurred is made clear in his own utterances, so that in the Epistles and speeches combined we have a complete representation of the great Apostle.

4. *They explain his fitness for his work.* The speeches explain in a striking manner his wonderful fitness for the work to which Christ had called him.

[1] Cf. Sabatier, *St. Paul*, pp. 95, 96.

In the speeches we are brought face to face with the three all-important factors with which the newly established faith had to reckon, and by which its growth and development were to be modified. These three factors are—

1. *Judaism*, and more especially the Judaism of the Dispersion.

2. *Hellenism*, in its Asiatic form as found in the great municipalities of Asia Minor.

3. *The Roman Empire*, with its renowned system of law and administration, and its unrivalled facilities for travel and inter-provincial communication.

It is evident that, in order to be able to cope successfully with the conditions arising from this combination of circumstances, a many-sided, versatile, cosmopolitan character was required. To be the herald of a religion which had its origin in Judaism a Jew was essential; to possess sympathy with, and insight into, all the manifold details of Hellenistic life it was necessary that this Jew should have been born and bred in a Hellenistic city; and, last but not least, to enable him to take full advantage of the unique opportunities afforded by the Imperial system for the expansion of Christianity, it was of the highest importance that he should belong to the ruling class, and possess the citizenship of the Empire. This one privilege would ensure for him, and for the religion he preached, the protection of Roman law, and for himself access to all the great Roman provincial centres. Now these three conditions met in a wonderful manner in the person of St. Paul. A Jew, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, a member of the strictest section of the Pharisees, he had been born in the Asiatic-Greek city of Tarsus, a fact in which he took no little pride. Tarsus was a city "whose institutions best and most completely united the Oriental and Western

character." [1] To crown all, he was "a Roman born." In him, above all others, was found the one instrument ready to God's hand to carry on the great Divine purpose of proclaiming Christ to the Gentile world. The Apostle himself recognized this special fitness, and gave expression to his consciousness of it in Gal. i. 15, 16, 17; and also in 1 Cor. ix. 20–22; in which he refers to his training, education, and environment, by which he was providentially adapted to fulfil the plans of God on behalf of the heathen. While it is not necessary to claim for him a regular philosophical Greek education as Prof. Ramsay demands, it is, on the other hand, impossible to adopt the position of M. Sabatier,[2] which sees in the Apostle nothing but the Jew, reduces the influence of his Hellenistic surroundings to a mere nothing, and attributes all that was characteristic in him as the Apostle of the Gentiles to the Pharisee of Jerusalem, and not to the citizen of Tarsus. That a man of St. Paul's intellectual calibre could remain unaffected by the influences which would surround him in a city of the character of Tarsus, with its great political importance, its wide renown as one of the chief literary centres of the world, and with its university of no mean standing, is unthinkable. The tone of pride in which the Apostle speaks of his native city points in the contrary direction, while his speech at Athens shows undoubted proof of his acquaintance with Stoic philosophy.

The results of this wide experience and training are scattered broadcast over the surface of the speeches. To the Hellenistic Jews at Antioch he is the Jew, thoroughly well versed in Jewish law and history, proud of the nation's glorious past, arguing from the Jewish

[1] See Ramsay's *The Cities of St. Paul*, p. 85 ff., from which this section has been reproduced almost *verbatim*.

[2] Sabatier, *St. Paul*, p. 47.

Scriptures, and proclaiming Christ and His Gospel as the fulfilment of the promise made by God to His own chosen people. At Athens, the religious and intellectual centre of the Greek world, he moves as one to whom the surroundings of a Greek university city are perfectly familiar, meets the Athenian philosopher on his own ground, and bases his teaching upon principles acknowledged and promulgated in their leading philosophical systems. In no way is his peculiar fitness demonstrated more clearly than in his relations with the Roman provincial authorities, whether those of the highest rank, as in the cases of Felix and Festus, and the Chief Captain, or those in humbler position like Julius, the Centurion. In each instance he demands and receives the respect due to his position as a citizen of the Empire, and the indulgent treatment he meets with at the hands of the proconsuls at Cæsarea, and afterwards during his imprisonment at Rome, testify, in no small degree, to the service rendered to Christianity in the person of the great Apostle, by the fact that he was, to use his own expression, "a Roman born."

BOOK I

ST. PAUL'S MISSIONARY SERMONS

INTRODUCTORY

THE three sermons which constitute this section of the Pauline orations are the only specimens of the Apostle's evangelistic preaching extant. As a record of the missionary utterances of the great Apostle it is exceedingly limited in quantity, but this is, in some measure, atoned for by its quality, and, more especially, by its comprehensiveness.

The sermons themselves may be regarded, and were evidently so regarded by St. Luke, and, no doubt, by the Apostle himself, who probably suggested the selection, as types of the missionary addresses that he habitually delivered in the course of his evangelistic labours, when he appealed to non-Christian communities, whether Jewish or Gentile. The series is comprehensive in that it includes not only a sermon delivered to a typical congregation of Hellenistic Jews and of Hellenists who were attracted by Jewish ideals, but had not become Jews *de facto*, but also two sermons addressed to heathen, pure and simple. They describe his method of approach to the inhabitants of a great Roman colonia like Antioch, a centre of Græco-Asiatic civilization, with an important Jewish community, and

also to a lesser colonia, Lystra, in which the Jewish element was practically non-existent, and which formed the centre of a large district, not yet deeply permeated by Hellenistic influences, where the inhabitants, to some considerable degree, still retained their ancient Anatolian language and customs. Last of all, we have a picture of the Apostle in a pure Greek city, in Athens itself, the intellectual capital of the world, the very home of art and philosophy. From this point of view, this section of Pauline addresses is remarkably satisfactory, and, in some respects, may be said to cover the whole ground of his evangelistic labours. The value of the section, as filling up a most serious gap in the body of Pauline literature and teaching, has already been touched upon in the Introduction.[1]

The Value of the Sermons as Illustrating St. Paul's Missionary Methods.—The importance of the sermons is based on even wider grounds than those already mentioned. We are indebted to them for the only illustration we possess of the Apostle's missionary method. Above all else, St. Paul is "The Missionary," the true type and forerunner of every Christian missionary, and to these sermons we owe all that we know of his methods and principles in that capacity.

In no department of Christian work has there been such a marked development in the right direction as that which has been exhibited in the improved methods of Missions in recent years, and this improvement is very largely due to the fact that a return has been made to the Pauline pattern. The following points may be noted as illustrating this tendency—

A. It is now beginning to be realized that the true method of approaching non-Christian communities is

[1] Introduction, p. 20.

not *by way of destruction*, but by that *of supplementing*. The older missionary method, now fortunately discarded, was to approach heathendom with the conception that all religious ideas already in possession must be rigorously destroyed. Instead of regarding them as a foundation and a basis upon which to erect the superstructure of Christianity, they were generally looked upon as the works of the Evil One, to be swept away, root and branch, to make room for an entirely new process to be started from the very beginning. Christianity was thus often presented in an aggressive, unsympathetic form, and, in consequence, proved repellent instead of attracting. This was emphatically not the method of St. Paul. He found in the few simple truths of natural religion possessed by the peasants of Lystra, and in the religious devotion and philosophical tenets of the Athenian, subjects neither for scorn nor contempt, but valuable material upon which to base his teaching, and a lever wherewith to lift them to a higher conception of God and of true religion.

B. The value of sympathy. The whole secret of successful missionary work is summed up in the word *sympathy*, and it is this quality which explains the marvellous progress of Christian expansion under the leadership of St. Paul. It is not difficult to picture to ourselves how the Apostle would have approached the devout son of Islam, with his belief in the one God, and his firm faith in prayer, and what efforts he would have made to elevate the Mussulman's conception of himself as "the servant of God" into that of his position as "a son" in Christ Jesus. In the Hindoo he would welcome the sense of personal devotion, and find much cause for gratitude in his affectionate and warm-hearted nature, and would have built, upon the one and the other, a substantial edifice of true devotion to Christ.

Even among the lower classes of heathen, all that was good would have received sympathetic and respectful treatment at his hands. Native systems of morals, often arising from sound ideals, would not be altogether discarded by him, and many a native custom, based on some remnant of spiritual insight, would escape absolute condemnation.

C. A further item of considerable importance in missionary method which we learn from St. Paul is *the necessity of presenting the Gospel in a form which will appeal to each particular audience.* To the Jews the God whom St. Paul proclaimed was the God of the Fathers, the Christ whom he served was the fulfilment of the promise made to the Fathers, but to the heathen of Lystra he preached the living God, the God of creation, and the God of providence, who gave them rains and fruitful seasons, and who filled their hearts with food and gladness. At Athens again, before a philosophic audience, he clothes the Gospel in a Greek dress, and presents it in a form calculated to appeal to, and to attract that particular type of hearer.

The comparative lack of success which has accompanied the Christian appeal to Oriental communities must be attributed, in a large measure, to the Western form in which that appeal has been made, which rendered it to a large extent unintelligible to the Oriental mind, and deprived it of much of its attractive power. The example of St. Paul is, in the present day, having its due effect, and much emphasis is laid on the necessity of presenting the religion of Jesus Christ in a form which will appeal to the mind and heart of the Eastern, which must greatly enhance its prospects of a sympathetic and friendly reception.

D. Another feature of the Pauline missionary method was *his habit of addressing himself to the leaders of the*

community. Thus, at Cyprus, we find him making the proconsul the object of his earnest attention, and the same anxiety to make the appeal of the Gospel to the great men of the Imperial world is exhibited at Cæsarea, in the cases of Felix, Festus, and Herod Agrippa. His first care on arriving at Rome is to commend himself to the "chief of the Jews."

This is without doubt a policy to be recommended, and it was adopted by St. Augustine in his mission to England, where he began with Ethelbert and his court. "The Gospel has its message to the educated and influential heathen, and it is not always expedient or wise to make a start with the poor and needy, which is apt to repel the cultured, and to lead them to conceive of Christianity as the religion of the untaught, and the unthinking."[1]

[1] Archbishop Benson, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 641.

CHAPTER I

ST. PAUL'S MESSAGE TO THE HELLENISTIC JEWS

The Sermon at Antioch in Pisidia, Acts xiii. 13–52

13 Now Paul and his company set sail from Paphos, and
came to Perga in Pamphylia; and John departed from
14 them and returned to Jerusalem. But they, passing
through from Perga, came to Antioch of Pisidia; and they
went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and sat
15 down. And after the reading of the law and the pro-
phets the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying,
Brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people,
16 say on. And Paul stood up, and beckoning with the hand
said—

17 Men of Israel, and ye that fear God, hearken. The
God of this people Israel chose our fathers, and exalted
the people when they sojourned in the land of Egypt,
18 and with a high arm led he them forth out of it. And
for about the time of forty years suffered he their man-
19 ners in the wilderness. And when he had destroyed
seven nations in the land of Canaan, he gave them
their land for an inheritance, for about four hundred
20 and fifty years: and after these things he gave them
21 judges until Samuel the prophet. And afterward they
asked for a king: and God gave unto them Saul the
son of Kish, a man of the tribe of Benjamin, for the
22 space of forty years. And when he had removed him,
he raised up David to be their king; to whom also he

bare witness, and said, I have found David the son of
Jesse, a man after my heart, who shall do all my will.
23 Of this man's seed hath God according to promise
24 brought unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus; when John had first
preached before his coming the baptism of repentance
25 to all the people of Israel. And as John was fulfilling
his course, he said, What suppose ye that I am? I am
not he. But behold, there cometh one after me, the
shoes of whose feet I am not worthy to unloose.
26 Brethren, children of the stock of Abraham, and those
among you that fear God, to us is the word of this
27 salvation sent forth. For they that dwell in Jerusalem,
and their rulers, because they knew him not, nor the
voices of the prophets which are read every sabbath,
28 fulfilled them by condemning him. And though they
found no cause of death in him, yet asked they of
29 Pilate that he should be slain. And when they had
fulfilled all things that were written of him, they took
30 him down from the tree, and laid him in a tomb. But
31 God raised him from the dead: and he was seen for
many days of them that came up with him from Gali-
lee to Jerusalem, who are now his witnesses unto the
32 people. And we bring you good tidings of the promise
33 made unto the fathers, how that God hath fulfilled the
same unto our children, in that he raised up Jesus;
as also it is written in the second psalm, Thou art my
34 Son, this day have I begotten thee. And as concerning
that he raised him up from the dead, now no more to
return to corruption, he hath spoken on this wise, I
will give you the holy and sure blessings of David.
35 Because he saith also in another psalm, Thou wilt not
36 give thy Holy One to see corruption. For David, after
he had in his own generation served the counsel of
God, fell on sleep, and was laid unto his fathers, and
37 saw corruption: but he whom God raised up saw no
38 corruption. Be it known unto you therefore, brethren,
that through this man is proclaimed unto you remission

39 of sins: and by him every one that believeth is justified
from all things, from which ye could not be justified by
40 the law of Moses. Beware therefore, lest that come
upon you, which is spoken in the prophets—

41 Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish;
For I work a work in your days,
A work which ye shall in no wise believe, if one
declare it unto you.

42 And as they went out, they besought that these words
43 might be spoken to them the next sabbath. Now when
the synagogue broke up, many of the Jews and of the
devout proselytes followed Paul and Barnabas: who,
speaking to them, urged them to continue in the grace
of God.

44 And the next sabbath almost the whole city was gathered
45 together to hear the word of God. But when the Jews
saw the multitudes, they were filled with jealousy, and
contradicted the things which were spoken by Paul, and
46 blasphemed. And Paul and Barnabas spake out boldly,
and said, It was necessary that the word of God should
first be spoken to you. Seeing ye thrust it from you,
and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, lo, we turn
47 to the Gentiles. For so hath the Lord commanded us,
saying,

I have set thee for a light of the Gentiles,
That thou shouldest be for salvation unto the utter-
most part of the earth.

48 And as the Gentiles heard this, they were glad, and
glorified the word of God: and as many as were ordained
49 to eternal life believed. And the word of the Lord was
50 spread abroad throughout all the region. But the Jews
urged on the devout women of honourable estate, and the
chief men of the city, and stirred up a persecution against
Paul and Barnabas, and cast them out of their borders.
51 But they shook off the dust of their feet against them, and
52 came unto Iconium. And the disciples were filled with joy
and with the Holy Ghost.

ANTIOCH IN PISIDIA.—Antioch in Pisidia was a Phrygian city, situated in the south-eastern corner of that territory where it borders on Pisidia, and stood on a southern spur of that lofty mountain range, now called the Sultan-Dagh. At the present day hardly anything remains to show where St. Paul delivered his first recorded sermon, and where, for many generations afterwards, there existed a large and flourishing city.[1] It was originally founded by Seleucus Nicator, the first member of that famous dynasty, and was named after his father, Antiochus. Antioch owed its foundation and importance to two causes. It was situated in the very centre of the Pisidian mountain district then inhabited by hill tribes of a specially truculent character, and was built to be a stronghold of royal power of a Greek type, and to act as an efficient check on the surrounding Phrygian mountaineers. In later days it attained still greater importance owing to its position on the great Imperial road, which, passing through Apameia and Apollonia, connected western Asia Minor with Syria. There seems to have been no native city on the site previous to the Seleucid foundation in 300 B.C., and to this may be due its strongly Hellenistic character during the whole of its civic history. The original founders of Antioch were not Greeks proper, but were an offshoot of the almost prehistoric Greek dispersion, and came from the city of Magnesia on the Maeander.

When the Seleucid power was overthrown, and the Romans gained the supremacy about 190 B.C., Antioch was made, and remained for 150 years, a free city, *i. e.* "a self-governing sovereign state, maintaining a Hellenistic system of autonomy and education, in the border-

[1] Prof. Ramsay's descriptions in his article in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary* and in *The Cities of St. Paul* respectively, somewhat contradict each other on this point.

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land between servile Phrygia and the free but barbarous tribes of Pisidia."[1]

It was customary for the Roman Republic to hand over some of its newly-conquered territories in the far East to subject kings, who were responsible for maintaining order and for keeping out marauding tribes, and so, in the year 39 B.C., Antioch, with Apollonia, was given by Mark Antony, who, as one of the triumvirate, was ruler of Asia, to Amyntas, the last king of Galatia. Amyntas was killed by the Pisidian hill brigands in 25 B.C., and, on his death, the whole country reverted to the possession of Rome. Antioch was made a Roman colony, given a new name, Cæsareia Antiocheia, and assumed an important position among Roman provincial cities.

THE POPULATION OF ANTIOCH.—The foregoing historical sketch explains the mixed character of the Antiochene population, of which we find traces in the Acts in the record of the incidents which form the subject of this chapter. There were in Antioch four distinct classes of inhabitants—

1. *The native Phrygians.* It has been pointed out that Antioch in its original foundation was a Hellenistic city situated in the centre of a large territory, the inhabitants of which were native Phrygians. At first, therefore, the Hellenistic colonists would form the bulk of the population, but it would not continue to retain its pure Greek character for any considerable length of time. The surrounding inhabitants would be attracted into it for the purposes of trade and education, and would thus form a bond between the Greek civilization of the city and the native tribes of the country outside of it. The religion of Antioch, which contained a very strong admixture of Anatolian features, proves the influence of

[1] Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 265.

this section of the inhabitants. The city, however, retained its Hellenistic character to an unusual degree, in spite of the presence within its walls of a class connected, racially and linguistically, with the residents in the surrounding country, but by education, rights, and privileges having close affinities with the Greek element.

2. *The Greeks in Antioch.* The story of the city's foundation will account for the presence of a strong and influential Hellenist section in Antioch. The predominance of this class was accentuated by the fact that the city was of purely Greek origin, and it was further strengthened by intercourse and communication with the other Græco-Asiatic cities, for which Antioch's position on the Imperial highway was peculiarly advantageous.

3. *The Jews in Antioch.* The record in the Acts goes far to show that in all the important Greek cities of Asia Minor there was a colony of Jews, and, in the case of Antioch, there is other evidence in the same direction. An inscription (probably of the first century) has been discovered in Apollonia which indicates that for several generations Jews of one family had been citizens of Antioch, and had held important civic offices there.[1]

Now a Jew, who was qualified to hold office in Antioch, must have outgrown the narrow outlook of the Jews of Palestine. The Jew of Antioch must have been Hellenized to such an extent as to adopt Greek as his everyday language, and to submit to customs which to his Palestinian brother were absolutely abhorrent. In the essentials of religion he, however, remained a Jew to the core, and his partial Hellenization in no way affected his fidelity to his ancestral faith, which was kept alive, partly by his periodical visits to Jerusalem on the occasion of the great feasts, but chiefly by the influence of the Synagogue, where the Jewish faith was presented in all

[1] Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 256.

its purity and strictness. The early Seleucid kings had been in the habit of introducing large bodies of colonists into the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and this policy was pursued on a large scale by the father of Antiochus Epiphanes. Favourably inclined to the Jews on account of their loyalty, he transferred them in considerable numbers to his newly-founded territories, granted them rights of citizenship, and placed them on a level with Greeks and Macedonians in the matter of municipal privileges, and, what was still more essential in the case of the Jew, extended to them his protection in the exercise of their religion. A well-known instance of his regard for Jewish religious interests is recorded in connection with the distribution of oil which was made at the public expense. The Jews would not, and could not, use oil manufactured by Gentiles, and Seleucus ordered that Jewish settlers should receive an allowance of money *in lieu*, and it remained so for generations, in spite of repeated attempts on the part of the Greeks to have the regulation cancelled.[1]

During the years 210–200 B.C., Antiochus the Great sent from Babylonia two thousand Jewish families to strengthen his power in the cities of Lydia and Phrygia, and in the whole of his Empire the Seleucid dynasty had no more loyal or devoted followers than these Jewish colonists.[2] The favourable treatment of Jews in Asia Minor, initiated by the Seleucid kings, was afterwards continued by the Roman authorities, both of the Republic and the Empire, with the result that, in cities like Antioch in Pisidia, they held a position of great prominence and influence.

4. *The Romans in Antioch.* The death of Amyntas in 25 B.C., and the placing of the country under direct

[1] Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, p. 71.
[2] Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on the Galatians*, p. 192.

Roman rule opened a new period of history for Antioch. The city was given the rank of a Roman colony soon after this (although the precise date of the grant is not known), and thus assumed a position and character hitherto denied to it. The newly-conferred dignity meant the introduction of a new class of inhabitants in the persons of the Roman *coloni*, who consisted chiefly of veteran soldiers, and who, at first, would form a privileged body within the city, clothed with all the dignity and favour peculiar to the citizens of the Empire. In addition to these, the Imperial administration would mean the influx of a large body of Imperial and provincial officials and of an important military contingent, which its position as a Roman colony demanded.

The Roman element at Antioch would therefore take the form of a local aristocracy, separated from the bulk of the population by special privileges upon which it prided itself, and maintaining a position of isolation, under the ægis of the great Imperial power which it represented. There is no evidence that this select body of Roman *coloni* and officials was in any way affected by the preaching of the Apostle, and they would seem to have taken no part in the proceedings until they were compelled by the Jews to intervene in what they considered to be the interests of order and civic discipline.

ST. PAUL AT ANTIOCH.—Such was the city with its divers factors and interests which Paul and Barnabas reached on their First Missionary Journey, during the summer of 47 A.D. From Cyprus, where the Apostolic Gospel had caused no slight commotion, even in the precincts of the proconsular court itself, they had crossed over to the opposite mainland of Perga in Pamphylia. They do not seem to have undertaken any evangelistic work in that region, and their stay in

Perga is characterized by one incident only, viz. the departure of John Mark, who had hitherto been a member of the Apostolic group. It is difficult to come to any definite conclusion as to the reasons which led the Apostles to visit Antioch. If, in accordance with the tendency of recent criticism, we assume the correctness of the South Galatian theory, we have St. Paul's own statement (Gal. iv. 13), which seems to imply that his visit to Antioch was not in accordance with his original plan, which he was compelled to modify owing to an attack of illness.

Prof. Ramsay explains the illness as an attack of malaria contracted in the low-lying swamps of Perga, and maintains that the visit to Antioch was due to its position in the hill country, which made it particularly suitable as a health resort for persons suffering from that malady. The "thorn in the flesh" he also explains in the same way, on the ground that malarial fever suits the description admirably, being peculiarly apt to recur, and exceedingly painful and prostrating in its effects.[1]

The more probable explanation is that the Apostle's original destination was Ephesus. His experiences at Cyprus and his contact with the Roman Imperial authorities and system at the court of Sergius Paulus had considerably enlarged his conception of the Gospel and of the future of the kingdom of Christ. It is at this point that we notice the beginning of that Imperial view of Christianity which exercised such an important influence upon his missionary outlook for the future. Christianity is now to become an Imperial religion, and Rome is ultimately to be its true centre, whence its power is to radiate throughout the whole of that vast dominion. But until Rome can be reached much can be done in the great provincial cities, and of these

[1] Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 94 ff.

Ephesus was the most important and was within easy reach. The Apostle's steps were therefore probably turned in the direction of Ephesus when he was attacked by an illness, possibly an affection of the eyes (Gal. iv. 15 and vi. 11), which compelled him to abandon his original intention and to turn aside to Antioch.

In support of the theory that his plans at this juncture were influenced by Imperial sentiment may be noted the significant change of name from Saul the Hebrew to Paul the Roman, and also the emphasis laid on the terms "king" and "kingdom" in his sermon at Antioch (Acts xiii. 21, 22). It is by no means improbable that Mark's defection was caused by his disapproval of this change and of the widening of the original plan which the proposed visit to Ephesus involved, and that he preferred to abandon the enterprise rather than give it the sanction of his presence. Personal feelings may also have had something to do with his departure, and may have caused him to resent the position of leader and guiding spirit of the mission now assumed by Paul and the consequent displacement of Barnabas, to whom Mark was related.

To whatever cause we attribute the change of plans it is an undoubted fact that the Churches of Galatia owed their evangelization to an accident.

THE SYNAGOGUE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY.—The Synagogue had played no unimportant part in the development of Judaism, and the Apostle was not slow to discern its tremendous possibilities in the furtherance of his own mission. Dating its origin as far back as the Babylonian captivity (although, strangely enough, there is no mention of it in the Old Testament), it owed its first beginnings to the temporary need of a place of worship for the nation in exile. Experience had, however, so

demonstrated its usefulness, that, after the return from the Captivity, it became a permanent feature of Jewish religious life, even in the Holy Land itself, and there was hardly a city, or village of any note, which did not possess its own Synagogue. Among the Jews of the Dispersion it naturally retained its original function, and it was here, perhaps, that it reached its highest development and best justified its existence. In every city where there were at least ten Jewish householders a Synagogue was established, and, in every case, it became the centre around which the whole Judaic system revolved. Even where the size of the community did not justify the setting up of a Synagogue there was a "proseuche," a place of prayer, generally by the sea, or by a river, as at Philippi (Acts xvi. 13). The Synagogue services were at first, as might be expected, of an informal character, and would consist of the reading of the Scriptures, with an explanatory "targum," and a few prayers, but, in process of time, they became stereotyped, and were arranged largely on the plan of the Temple services in Jerusalem, of which they were regarded as a pale reflexion.

Religion was, however, not the only department of the people's life which found its centre in the Synagogue. Law and social order were also regulated from the same source, which had now become the seat of the local council or Sanhedrin, a body of men with power to decide all questions of Jewish law and custom and to deal out such measure of justice to their fellow-worshippers as was allowed by the Roman administration. This local council would consist, in a large measure, of the Synagogue officials, presided over by the "ruler of the Synagogue," so often mentioned in New Testament documents. The Synagogue had thus become the one indispensable feature of the Judaism of the Dispersion,

and it is impossible to over-estimate its significance. It was the one bond of union which, in spite of their scattered and despised condition, made the Jews the most intensely national, patriotic, and united nation in the world. Wherever the Jew, in his wanderings, entered a Synagogue, there, on Sabbath and feast day, he would find the same lessons of Scripture read as were being read by the brethren all the world over; he would join in the prayers which every devout Jew under heaven was giving utterance to on that day, and would take part in a service which found its real explanation in the gorgeous ritual of the Temple in Jerusalem. Its one crowning feature was that it never concentrated attention upon itself. It was definitely transitory and temporary in its character, and its function was to keep alive all that was essentially Jewish and patriotic. Jerusalem, the Holy City, and its Temple, its chief glory, these were the points of attraction to which the Synagogue sought to divert the eyes of all. It was to the Temple in Jerusalem that the richest of the offerings, in every Synagogue of the Dispersion, were devoted, and poor indeed must have been the Jew whose patriotism did not move to visit the Holy City once in his lifetime, to attend one of the great national feasts. Thus, although the Jews of the West had to a large extent lost their national language, and habitually spoke Greek, and had no existence as an independent people, Synagogue and Temple still remained, religious fervour was still the ruling motive in their lives, and there was no declension in their fidelity to their ancient faith and country.

Important as were the services rendered by the Synagogue in the interests of Judaism, they were hardly of less significance in the expansion of Christianity. This aspect of the function of the Synagogue of the Dispersion has been well put by Edersheim when he

says that "Israel's punishment (in the Captivity and Dispersion) became the means of fulfilling Israel's world mission. Another instance this of how the Divine judgment bears in its bosom larger mercy, and how the dying of Israel is ever life to the world. Thus the Synagogue became the cradle of the Church. Without it, as indeed without Israel's Dispersion, the Church universal would, humanly speaking, have been impossible, and the conversion of the Gentiles would have required a succession of millennial miracles."[1]

Such, then, was the Heaven-sent instrument which the Apostle found ready to his hand, and which he was determined to utilize to its fullest extent. In his approach to the Gentiles it was of the greatest advantage, as it enabled him to make his advance along the line of least resistance. He finds a soil prepared by centuries of monotheism, and in that, in the first instance, he seeks to plant the seed of the Gospel. Ever a "wise Master Builder," he makes use of the material already at his disposal in his momentous efforts to build up the Church of Christ.

The Apostles in the Synagogue at Antioch.—On the first Sabbath[2] following their arrival at Antioch, Paul and Barnabas, in accordance with what appears to have been their usual custom at this period of their Missionary career, enter into the local Synagogue and take their seats among the congregation assembled for the day's services. The discoveries of the archæologist and the arrangements of the present-day Synagogue enable us to reconstruct the scene. The Apostles when they entered would, as distinguished strangers, be asked to take the seats reserved for the "honourable," which

[1] Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, vol. i. p. 431.

[2] Prof. Ramsay now accepts this view. Cf. *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 99 f., with *The Cities of St. Paul*, p. 297 f.

were placed in front of the Ark containing the sacred Rolls of the Law and the Prophets. In this position they would face the congregation, in which the women occupied a separate gallery apart from the men, and above them gleamed the lamp—a copy of the lamp in the Temple, whose light was never quenched.

The service itself was opened by two prayers, and these were followed by the recital of the Shema, a Creed, which consisted of three passages from the Pentateuch. After a third prayer came the Eulogies or Benedictions, eighteen in number, all closing with an Amen pronounced by the whole congregation, which concluded the Liturgy portion of the service. The second part consisted of the reading of the Scriptures, portions of the Law and the Prophets being read in varying quantities according to the relative importance of the Sabbath or feast day. The occurrence in St. Paul's sermon of the words ἐτροποφόρησεν (he suffered their manners) and ὕψωσεν (he exalted) suggests that the Lessons on this particular occasion were taken from Deut. i. and Isaiah i. The service would then conclude with a discourse or sermon if there was present a Rabbi or distinguished stranger capable of giving an address. In the present instance Paul and Barnabas were recognized as "distinguished strangers," and after the reading of the Scriptures was concluded they were requested by the Synagogue officials to address the assembled congregation, a request which was responded to by St. Paul, who delivered his first Missionary sermon of which we have any record.

THE GOD-FEARING GENTILES.—Before we proceed to discuss the sermon delivered by St. Paul in response to this invitation, mention must be made of a section of the congregation which has hitherto been left unnoticed.

The regular congregation in the Synagogue was not confined to those of pure Jewish extraction, but was supplemented by a considerable admixture of Gentiles, who, in their craving for spiritual satisfaction, were attracted by the pure monotheism of the Jews, and had attached themselves to the Synagogue. Some were circumcised, and had become Jews *de facto* in faith and practice; others, holding back from taking that crucial step, became adherents, complying in varying degrees with the practices and customs of Jewish Law and ceremonial. Definite reference is made to this section of the audience in the Apostle's sermon, where they are described as οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν (the devout and God-fearing). The services rendered by these "proselytes of the gate" in the extension of the kingdom of Christ were second only to those rendered by the pure Jews of the Dispersion. By their instrumentality Jewish religious ideas were enabled to permeate through the Hellenistic population of Asia Minor, and, on the other hand, the religious intercourse between Jew and Gentile had no slight effect in toning down Jewish fanaticism. The Jews of the Dispersion spoke the Greek language habitually, used the Greek translations of the Scriptures, and the Grecian Jew of the West succumbed, in some degree, to the subtle influence of the surrounding cosmopolitanism and became fairly tolerant in his sympathies. This fusion of Jew and Gentile proved of incalculable value in the evangelizing of the world. Hellenists, imbued with Jewish monotheistic ideas, became the Christian Hellenists of the first century, and among them were numbered some of the most prominent of the Christian pioneers—Luke, Stephen, Philip, and Apollos. In Gentile cities it was the two classes of "Grecian Jews" and "devout Greeks" which formed the seed plot of the Church, and thus Hellenism performed

a work of the greatest significance in educating the world for Christianity. It had provided a common language, a common culture, and a common intellectual atmosphere, and in the persons of "the God-fearing" it provided a common religious ground.[1]

The Sermon (Acts xiii. 16–41).

The sermon delivered by St. Paul on this occasion consists of three sections—

(*a*) *The Historical Introduction*, which relates the story of Israel as the instrument of the Divine purpose in the preparation of the world for the coming of Christ (Acts xiii. 17–25).

(*b*) *The Proclamation of Christ* as the climax of the process of preparation, and as the fulfilment of the Divine promise (Acts xiii. 26–37).

(*c*) *The Special Pauline Message* with its emphasis on the universality of the Gospel of Christ and the doctrine of "justification by faith" (Acts xiii. 38–41).

(*a*) *The Historical Introduction.* The Apostle wastes no time by way of preliminary remarks, but after a courteous salutation, which contains a recognition of
16 both sections of his audience, "Ye Men of Israel, and ye that fear God," he plunges immediately into the very heart of his subject, and in the very first verse of his
17 sermon gives the keynote of his message. The old dispensation and the new, the deliverance of God's people from Egypt and the redemption wrought in Christ, are the direct outcome of the Divine purpose.

"God chose" is the one fact upon which the whole story of redemption is based, whether as illustrated in its preparatory stages in the history of Israel or in its complete development in the Incarnation of Christ. The

[1] Rackham, *Acts of the Apostles*, Intro., p. lxi.

"choice" itself was determined in the eternal counsels of the Godhead, but received its primary fulfilment in the sphere of time when the nation was formed in Egypt and then delivered from bondage by the mighty arm of God. The declaration of "God's choice" is then followed by a recital of the process by which the "chosen people" was educated to adapt it for its high destiny.
18 The course of education began with a sojourn of forty
19 years in the wilderness, which was followed by a period
20 of conquest and acquisition in Canaan, under the suc-
21 cessive guidance of judges, prophets, and kings.
22 After a digression in which the story of Saul is utilized to set forth the possibility of God rejecting His chosen people, the educational policy is shown to have reached its climax in the choice of David and in the establishment of his dynasty. David is set forth as the one unique prototype of Christ, inasmuch as he is not only raised up by God Himself, but is raised up to be king, and has witness borne to him also by God.
23 With him is also associated the "promise" originally made to Abraham, and now renewed to David, and confined to his line.
24 The recital of the process of preparation then leaps over a considerable space of time and closes with the
25 record of its last phase in the ministry of the Baptist.

(*b*) *The Proclamation of Christ as the climax of the process of preparation, and as the fulfilment of the promise.*

26 The choice of Israel and the careful training and education of the nation had but one end in view, the preparing of the world for the message which the Apostle now pro-
27 claimed. Now this message was the Gospel of Jesus, whom the rulers of the people in Jerusalem (although, to their credit, let it be remembered that they acted in ignorance, an ignorance which is, however, difficult to
28 explain, if they had understood their own prophets) had

caused to be crucified by the Roman authorities repre-
29 sented by Pontius Pilate, the Governor. Concerning the
30 death of Jesus there could be no possible doubt, as He
31 was actually buried. But He rose again from the dead, and was seen by a large number of witnesses, most of whom were still alive and capable of testifying to the truth of this statement.

32 In Him, *i.e.* in Jesus, crucified, dead, buried, and raised again from the dead, the promise made to Israel
33 is fulfilled, and in Him all the prophecies in the Book
-37 of Isaiah and in the Psalms of David, concerning the Sonship of the Messiah and the Resurrection, are realized.

(*c*) *The Special Pauline Message.* The Apostle now reaches the crucial point of his sermon, where the distinctive Pauline Gospel is proclaimed.

38 Through Jesus, crucified and raised from the dead, there is offered to all, Jews and Gentiles alike the unspeakable gift of the forgiveness of sins. The gift is not, moreover, confined to simple forgiveness of the past,
39 but includes hope for the future, inasmuch as "faith in Him" secures not only annulment of sin, but brings with it also "justification" complete and perfect, and rescues the believer from the depths of despair into which he had been cast by the impotence of the Law.

40 The sermon closes with a solemn warning of the consequences which must follow should the audience persist
41 in rejecting the Apostle's message, a warning couched in the words of the prophet Habakkuk.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE SERMON.—Before we proceed to discuss the contents of the sermon it is advisable to satisfy ourselves as to whether we have here a genuine utterance of St. Paul's, or, as many critics strongly maintain, a mere *rechauffé* of other speeches in the Acts, notably those of St. Stephen and St. Peter.

with a discreet admixture of distinctive Pauline doctrine, which is chiefly confined to the concluding section, and inserted there in order to give the whole sermon the requisite Pauline tone and flavour.

COMPARISON WITH SPEECHES IN THE ACTS.—It will simplify our task if we at once acknowledge the presence of a considerable amount of common matter in this sermon and in other sermons recorded in the Acts. But it is only natural that St. Stephen and St. Paul, when addressing audiences of a precisely identical character, which, in each case, were primarily composed of Jews, but contained an important Hellenist element, should adopt the same style of argument. Again, there seems no valid reason why St. Peter and St. Paul, speaking at much the same period and on the same subject, should not quote identical prophecies, and follow much the same line of argument. The form of the discourse, consisting as it does principally of a historical summary, was by no means an uncommon feature in Jewish oratory, a familiar instance of which is found in the speech of Samuel (1 Sam. xii.).

But while acknowledging a certain amount of similarity in form and style and the existence of material common to most Christian utterances of this period, a close examination of the sermons themselves makes it quite evident that they are independent of each other, and that, in no case, has any one sermon been composed by a judicious blending of extracts from the others.

1. We shall take first of all *St. Stephen's speech before the Council* (Acts vii.).

Both St. Stephen and St. Paul commence their addresses with a survey of the history of Israel, but the purposes of this summary and the aims of the arguments are, in each case, absolutely divergent. While St. Stephen labours to prove that in early ages God's

revelation of Himself was entirely connected with places outside the sacred soil of Canaan, and so contradicts the idea of ultra-sanctity connected by the Jew with the Temple (Acts vii. 2, 9, 30, 44), and finds in the rejection of Moses, the Divinely-appointed deliverer and lawgiver, the type of the Messiah's rejection by Israel (Acts vii. 39), St. Paul traces in the story of Israel's career the choice of God and the purpose of God, and his Messianic prototype is found, not in Moses the lawgiver, but in David the king. Again, the doctrine of the Messiah in St. Stephen's speech is principally associated with individual types. With St. Paul a wider view prevails, which sees in the whole course of Israel's historical life, and not simply in its prominent figures, a preparation for the coming of the Messiah. We also notice that St. Stephen reaches the climax of his historical survey in Solomon, while St. Paul significantly breaks off with David.

The difference of tone in the two discourses is also well marked, St. Stephen's object being apparently to affront his hearers, whereas St. Paul, throughout his sermon, is extremely conciliatory.[1]

2. *Comparison with St. Peter's sermons*, more especially with that delivered on the day of Pentecost.

The general features of St. Peter's Gospel, as proclaimed on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 14–40), are reproduced in St. Paul's sermon at Antioch. In both cases the main facts of the Crucifixion and Resurrection are proclaimed, but the addition of the mention of the burial by St. Paul is characteristic. Both Apostles dwell with considerable emphasis on the rejection of Jesus by the Jews (cf. Acts ii. 23 with xiii. 27), and seek to minimize the culpability of the Jewish leaders on the score of ignorance. The allusion to "the tree" (cf.

[1] Chase, *The Credibility of the Acts*, p. 183.

Deut. xxi. 23) is common to both speakers (cf. Acts x. 39 with xiii. 29), although they differ in the manner of reference. It has been suggested [1] that St. Paul's reference to the fact of "taking down from the tree" as having been the work of enemies of our Lord, differing as it does from the accounts given both by the Synoptists and St. John, argues ignorance of the details of the story of the Passion on his part. He was familiar with the main outlines of the story, but not so familiar with the particulars. St. Luke knew the story well, and yet he preferred to give the actual words of the Apostle than correct a palpable mistake.

In St. Peter's sermon before the Jewish council the Resurrection is the one central point (Acts iii. 15) as in St. Paul's sermon at Antioch, and they are both represented as regarding it as the reversal of Israel's rejection through God's act, and the same verse of the Psalms is quoted by both in support of the theory (Psalm xvi. 10). They both lay stress on the function of the Apostles as witnesses of the Resurrection (Acts ii. 32; iii. 15; x. 41; xiii. 31), but here again there is a subtle difference, as in the case of the burial, in the manner of reference. St. Paul does not associate himself with the witnesses of the Resurrection (Acts xiii. 31), an extremely significant point, which argues strongly in favour of the correctness of the report of this section of the sermon.

These are not the only points which go to prove that St. Paul's sermon is altogether independent of any discourse previously delivered by St. Peter. There is, *e.g.*, a considerable difference in their aspects of the Resurrection. In the Petrine speeches Resurrection meant that Christ was rescued from the lasting experience of the grave and corruption, and the majesty of the risen

[1] Chase, *The Credibility of the Acts*, p. 184 f.

Jesus is emphasized (Acts ii. 36). In St. Paul, the ruling idea connected with the Resurrection is that of "life," the "life" which henceforth cannot know death (Acts xiii. 33). There is also to be noticed in St. Paul's sermon a considerable advance in his doctrine of Christ. Christ is there presented in three aspects, which are not found in any of the Petrine addresses.

1. Jesus is Saviour (Acts xiii. 23).
2. Jesus is King (Acts xiii. 22).
3. Jesus is the Son (Acts xiii. 33).

The idea of Sonship is a prominent thought throughout the sermon.

In both Petrine and Pauline sermons the practical outcome is the same, the declaration of the "forgiveness of sins" through Jesus Christ (cf. Acts ii. 38 and xiii. 38, 39), but, in St. Paul, there is the additional idea of the catholicity of the Gospel and the distinctively Pauline doctrine of "justification by faith." Both sermons conclude with a solemn warning (Acts ii. 40 and xiii. 40, 41).

PROF. BACON'S ARGUMENT AGAINST THE AUTHENTICITY.—Prof. Bacon[1] advances a somewhat quaint argument to prove that the sermon could not have been delivered by St. Paul. He maintains that Acts xiii. 39, which, according to him, teaches that the Gospel of Christ is only partially efficient, and that it justifies the believer in those matters only in which the Law had proved itself inefficient, is absolutely inconsistent with St. Paul's well-known doctrine on this point. This argument is based on an interpretation of Acts xiii. 39, "by him every one that believeth is justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the Law of Moses," which is unnatural, and absolutely peculiar to Profs. Bacon and Davidson.[2] This interpretation is

[1] Bacon, *Story of St. Paul*, p. 103.
[2] Davidson, *Hist. Intro. to New Testament*, vol. ii. p. 112.

plainly contradicted by the natural meaning of the text, with its very clear enunciation of the doctrine of the total and complete efficiency of the Gospel of Christ.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF THE AUTHENTICITY.—A. *The relationship of the sermon to the Epistle to the Galatians.* If we accept the South Galatian theory, which implies that the Galatians to whom the Epistle was addressed are identical with the Christians of Antioch and of the other South Galatian cities, we should expect to find, in the sermon and the Epistle, certain features common to both, and our expectations in this direction are fully realized, as may be seen from the following points of coincidence.

1. The whole conception of Israel's history as a course of preparation and training is in full accord with the main thought of the Epistle, in which the Law is described as "a schoolmaster to bring to Christ" (Gal. iii. 24).

2. The further idea in which the history of Israel is represented as the growth and education of a son, brought out of Egypt (cf. Acts xiii. 17 and St. Matt. ii. 15), his wayward youth in the wilderness, the entering in upon his inheritance in Canaan, and his subsequent training under judges, prophets, and kings, finds its exact counterpart in Gal. iv. 1–7.

3. The great importance which is attached both in sermon and Epistle to the idea of "sonship." In the sermon the Jews are "sons of the stock of Abraham" (Acts xiii. 26), Christians are the true children of fathers (Acts xiii. 33), the Messiah is the "SON"; while, in the Epistle, the Israelites are the "children of God" (Gal. iii. 26), and to redeem them "God sent forth His Son" (Gal. iv. 4). The word "Son" occurs thirteen times in the Epistle, and "child" four times.

4. The doctrine of rejection is emphasized in the sermon by the examples of Canaan and of Saul (Acts xiii. 19, 21), and is illustrated in the Epistle by the story of Hagar (Gal. iv. 22–31).

5. The use of the following words in both documents.

(*a*) πληρόω (fulfil) and its derivatives. Cf. ἐπλήρου τὸν δρόμον (was fulfilling his course) (Acts xiii. 25) with τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου (the fulness of time) (Gal. iv. 4). The word is used also in the sermon in the following contexts: ἐκπεπλήρωκεν ταύτην τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν (fulfilled this promise) (Acts xiii. 33), and κρίναντες ἐπλήρωσαν (they fulfilled them by condemning him) (Acts xiii. 27).

(*b*) The word ξύλον (tree) is found in this sermon and in the Epistle, and nowhere else in the New Testament. Cf. καθελόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου (they took him down from the tree) (Acts xiii. 29) with πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου (every one that hangeth on a tree) (Gal. iii. 13).

(*c*) The word δικαιόω (justify), with which is associated the main teaching of the Epistle, is also found in the sermon, where the germs of the same doctrine appear, this being the one solitary place in the Acts where this characteristic Pauline doctrine is mentioned.

6. The Apostle's preaching when he first arrived among the Galatians is described in Gal. iii. 1, 2 as the preaching of "Jesus Christ crucified" and of "salvation by faith and not by the works of the Law," which agrees exactly with the contents of the sermon at Antioch, with its emphasis on the events of the Passion, and its clear enunciation of the doctrine of "justification by faith."

7. The story of Israel in the sermon is the story of God's grace. God chose, God endured, God destroyed the nations of Canaan and gave Israel their inheritance, God gave them prophets, judges and kings, God raised

up David, God brought unto Israel a Saviour, God raised Jesus from the dead, God fulfilled the promise made to the Fathers (Acts xiii. 17–33). With this wonderful proclamation of the grace of God in the life of Israel and of Christ cf. the following phrases in the Epistle: "God sent forth His Son" (Gal. iv. 4), "God sent forth the Spirit of His Son" (Gal. iv. 6).

8. His reception by the Galatians "as an angel of God" (Gal. iv. 14) tallies exactly with the enthusiasm described in the Acts (xiii. 44), and, more especially, if we include the action of the people of Lystra, who insisted on worshipping him as a god.

B. *The Pauline characteristics in the Sermon.* The evidence that the sermon is a genuine utterance of the great Apostle is further strengthened by the presence in it of many features which mark the Pauline touch, such as—

1. *His unfailing tact.* This is manifested in his judicious attitude towards both sections of his audience. To gain the ear of the Jews Israel is represented as the object of God's choice, and a glowing picture of their national mission is set before them. Even the crowning act of folly and ingratitude of the Jewish rulers is mitigated on the ground of their ignorance and of the fact that they were the unconscious instruments of the Divine purpose. His anxiety to obtain a favourable reception from the Gentile section is seen in the gradual development of his language in the successive salutations addressed to the congregation. In every salutation there is a kindly recognition of their presence, and at each repetition the reference becomes more sympathetic. At the opening of the address they are referred to as "Ye that fear God" (Acts xiii. 17). Later on they are included in the term "brethren" (Acts xiii. 26), but differentiated from the "children of the stock of

Abraham," while towards the close of the address they are "brethren" (Acts xiii. 38) on an absolute equality with the Jews of the Synagogue, and "remission of sins by faith in Christ Jesus" is offered to them, as well as to the "stock of Israel." [1]

2. *The adoption of David, and not Moses, as the great type of Christ.* In the sermon (Acts xiii. 23), Jesus is described as the "seed of David," and with this we may compare the description in Romans i. 3. The choice of David as the great prototype was dictated to the Apostle, partly, by his anxiety to lessen, in the mind of the Jew, the estimate in which he held his privileges as a descendant of Abraham and as the recipient of the Law given through Moses. In addition to this, the character and functions of David are more in accord with the conception which was beginning to form in the Apostle's mind of Christianity as a kingdom. The germs of the Imperial idea may be detected in the sermon, and it is fairly clear that St. Paul began to "think Imperially" and to see visions of Christianity as a great world-wide Imperial religion as a result of his experiences at Cyprus. This would explain the emphasis laid in the sermon on the kingship of David, with its natural corollary, the conception of Christ as the realization of the type, a universal King in very truth.

3. *The distinctive Pauline doctrine.* The Pauline cast of thought is most obvious in the concluding, and practical, part of the sermon. We may not have here the theory of the Atonement nor that of "justification by faith" fully formulated, but the germs, out of which both these doctrines are evolved, are clearly discernible. In the words "through this man is proclaimed unto you remission of sins" (Acts xiii. 38), with their inseparable

[1] Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 301 f.

connection with what has gone before, the gift of "remission of sins" is strictly bound up with the death and resurrection of Jesus. Following close upon this, there comes the proclamation of a complete and absolute justification "to every one that believeth" (Acts xiii. 39). Redemption and justification are both realized in, and through, Christ, but through Christ crucified and raised from the dead. The very words and terms used by the Apostle in this part of the sermon are among the most characteristic expressions found in the Epistles, as, *e.g.*, οὐκ ἠδυνήθητε ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, with which we may compare τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου (Rom. viii. 3). The use of δικαιωθῆναι with ἀπό is also found in Romans vi. 7, δεδικαίωται ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας. The general and comprehensive phrase which sums the whole effect of the sermon, πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων, has its parallels in Romans i. 16, δύναμις γὰρ Θεοῦ ἐστιν εἰς σωτηρίαν παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι, and also in Romans iii. 22, δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς πάντας τοὺς πιστεύοντας. In the sentence "by this every one that believeth is justified from all things from which ye could not be justified by the Law of Moses," we have an echo of the Apostle's own experience, which he relates more in detail in the Epistle to the Romans (vii. 7–24). Both here and in the Epistle he expresses the utter inefficiency of legal obedience, because the Law exacted more than Israel could obey. Every effort to fulfil the Law only served to deepen the conviction that it was useless and absolutely ineffectual, and this resulted in a condition of hopelessness and despair.

The Law, instead of realizing its conception as an instrument of justification, added to the burden of sin, and served only to intensify the sense of condemnation. Then came the vision of the risen Messiah, the Righteous One, in Whom he saw a realization of that perfect

holiness, which he himself had found so hopeless of attainment through the strength and motive power of the Law. In Him he found, once and for all, that full and complete justification which had been the very aim of his life and the goal of all his hopes. He translates his own deliverance from the darkness of despair under the Law into the ineffable light of life and hope in Christ into the realm of thought and language, and on that bases the most significant phases of his teaching.

4. Dr. Chase[1] points out an important point of coincidence in connection with the words of warning in the sermon, which are taken from the prophecy of Habakkuk. This is significant when we bear in mind that one of the pregnant texts on which the Apostle bases his doctrine of justification "by faith," is derived from the same prophecy, "The just shall live by faith," which is quoted in more than one of his Epistles (Rom. i. 17, and Gal. iii. 11). The same prophet, who is interpreted by St. Paul as declaring the vital energy of faith, is called upon here to pronounce the condemnation of unbelief. Here we have a trace of Pauline thought so delicate and unobtrusive, that it can only point to the conclusion that we have, in the Acts, a very close report of the Apostle's actual words.

C. *Points of contact with the Gospel Story in the Sermon.* The sermon is of considerable interest and importance because of the many references to the Gospel story which it contains, as *e.g.*—

1. The emphasis laid on the mission of the Baptist, with the quotation of his actual description of himself (cf. Acts xiii. 24, 25 with St. John i. 23).

2. The detailed recital of the events of the Passion, which includes the trial before Pilate, the condemnation as the result of pressure from the Jews, the crucifixion,

[1] Chase, *Credibility of the Acts*, p. 194 ff.

death, burial, and the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ (Acts xiii. 28, 29, 30).

3. The emphatic declaration of our Lord's appearance after His resurrection, and of His being seen by a large number of witnesses, of whom many were still alive (Acts xiii. 31).

THE RESULTS OF THE SERMON.—The discourse stirred the congregation to its very depths, and, according to the Authorised Version, which reads "*the Gentiles* besought that these words might be preached to them the next Sabbath" (Acts xiii. 42), the effect on the non-Jewish section of it was very marked. Up to this point the Apostle's doctrine had provoked no overt opposition on the part of the Jews, but the sequel was to prove that the sermon, and more especially the latter part of it, was causing no slight "searching of hearts." Through the medium of the "God-fearing Gentiles" a report of the proceedings in the Synagogue was spread rapidly through the city, and a vast concourse assembled on the following Sabbath to listen to the Apostle's preaching. St. Paul was now thoroughly alive to the character of his audience and realized to the full the unique opportunity which the occasion offered him for proclaiming his message to Jew and Gentile. The preponderance of the Greek element undoubtedly led him to dwell with special emphasis on the "catholicity" of the Gospel of Christ, and to give prominence to the doctrine with which he had closed his sermon on the previous Sabbath, with its definite keynote πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων. This proceeding aroused the intense jealousy of the Jews in the congregation, who gave vent to their feelings by contradicting him and challenging the truth of his teaching, and so marked did their hostility become, that the Apostles were forced to abandon their mission to the Jews and to confine themselves now exclusively to the Gentile community in

Antioch. This new policy was publicly announced to his audience by St. Paul, who justified his action by quoting the prophecy from Isaiah xlix. 6.

By the Gentiles the Apostles and their Gospel were received with the greatest warmth and cordiality, with the result that a considerable number of adherents to Christianity were gained, not only in Antioch itself, but also in the surrounding district. The success thus achieved among the Gentiles of Antioch provoked the Jews to absolute fury, and, being unable to stem the tide of enthusiasm by any other means, they had recourse to the prominent women of the city, who, in their turn, incited the Roman officials, who had hitherto kept aloof, to take action in the matter. The result of the agitation was that the Apostles, probably on the plea that they caused disorder in the city, were driven out by the authorities and compelled to take refuge in the neighbouring town of Iconium. The action of the women of Antioch described by the historian in this connection is quite in accordance with what is known of the position of women in Asia Minor, where they exercised an influence which was practically unique in the Grecian world. This is one of the many points of detail which speak so eloquently of the historical accuracy of the writer of the Acts.

The women in this particular instance are supposed by Prof. Ramsay [1] to have been the wives of the Roman officials, and Dr. Hort [2] adds that they were probably of Jewish birth.

THE DOOR OF THE GENTILES.—The detailed account of the mission of St. Paul at Antioch and its results marks the importance which attached to it in the mind of St. Luke. This is manifestly one of those critical

[1] Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 313.
[2] Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 89.

epochs in the history of the expansion of Christianity to relate which was his definite object in undertaking the writing of the document, and it is only when we realize this that we are able to understand the scope and character of the work. The narrative in the Acts does not profess to be a full and complete record of the expansion of Christianity in the Apostolic age, but it does aim at supplying the Christian Church with a chronicle of the critical and epoch-making events, and, more especially, of those incidents which mark any new and important departure on the part of the Apostolic pioneers. Such an event we undoubtedly have here in the opinion of St. Luke, and the whole point of the narrative is centred in the words, "Lo, we turn to the Gentiles" (Acts xiii. 46). But the importance of the event does not lie in the mere preaching of Christ to the Gentiles, because this was by no means the first occasion on which the Gospel of Christ had made its appeal to those who stood outside of Judaism. St. Peter had preached to Cornelius and his household, and Greeks[1] had heard the Gospel of "the Lord Jesus" at Antioch in Syria. Paul and Barnabas had also themselves preached Christ in the court of the proconsul at Cyprus. The significance of the new departure lies in the fact that now, for the first time, Gentile Christianity, as apart from Judaic surroundings, is not only seen to be a possibility, but, in a very short process of time, becomes a living reality. Hitherto all approach to the Gentiles on the part of the Apostolic Missionaries had been by way of the Synagogue. This was the case both at Syrian Antioch and at Paphos,[2] but now a direct "door of the Gentiles" was opened, and a step was taken which produced results of the most momentous character in the development of

[1] See Acts xi. 20, where Ἕλληνας is the best-authenticated reading. Cf. Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 309.

the kingdom of Christ, and which led to a complete revolution in St. Paul's missionary methods. It is true that when a Jewish Synagogue is available it is still utilized by him in his primary approach to a new community, but a Jewish introduction and foundation are no longer regarded as a necessity, and where none exist there is no hesitation on his part in addressing the Gentiles directly, without the assistance of a Judaic medium. Thus, according to Dr. Hort,[1] "The incidents in the synagogue at Pisidian Antioch is the true turning-point at which a Gentile Christianity formally and definitely begins, and so a Judaistic Christianity becomes possible."

It was here also that the cleavage between St. Paul and the Judaizing element, both within and without the Christian Church, found its beginning, a cleavage which manifested itself in the increasing hostility of that section towards the Apostle and his work, and which reached its climax in the final repudiation of the Jews, in his hired dwelling at Rome, on his first arrival in the Imperial city (Acts xxviii. 28).

The practical outcome of the events at Antioch was the establishment of a successful Christian Church in the city itself and the surrounding "region," a process which was afterwards repeated in the neighbouring cities of South Galatia, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe. It was a momentous period in the history of the Church. In no district of the Empire did the Gospel meet with more spontaneous success than in Phrygia and Anatolia, and we can trace the results of St. Paul's mission as far down as the days of Pliny,[2] when he writes to the Emperor to complain that the heathen temples are deserted owing to the prevalence of Christianity, and asks for instructions how to check what appeared to him to be an evil of portentous growth.

[1] Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 64.

[2] Pliny, Eph. x. 97–98.

CHAPTER II

ST. PAUL'S MESSAGE TO THE HEATHEN

INTRODUCTORY.—We have considered the Apostle's message to the Jews of the Dispersion and to the Gentiles who had been attracted by Jewish ideals and were in sympathy with Hebrew monotheism. The remaining section of this book presents us with a picture of the Apostle in contact with heathenism upon which monotheistic ideas had exercised no influence. Now this heathenism is of two descriptions. At Lystra the Apostle is face to face with an uneducated Anatolian populace, showing as yet but few signs of the effect of Hellenistic civilization, professing the Anatolian religion, and speaking the native Lycaonian tongue, but possessing some knowledge of Greek. At Athens, on the other hand, he encounters Hellenism in its very stronghold, where all that was typical of Greek paganism was at its best, and where his audience was composed of the most cultured elements that he had the privilege to address in the whole course of his missionary career. The discourses delivered in these two cities are therefore of prime importance, because they are not only the sole record we possess of the Apostle's method of approaching heathen communities, but they describe that method in relation to two distinct phases of heathenism, the heathenism of the ignorant populace of Lystra as well as that of the critical Athenian audience. The narrative, in each case, bears witness to the Apostle's wonderful

tact and adaptability, qualities which enable him to deal successfully with both sets of conditions, and which we must attribute to his providential upbringing and training at Tarsus. There he would become familiar with the manners and habits of the peasants of Asia Minor as well as those of the more cultured Greeks of the city.

ST. PAUL'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.—A further point of considerable interest in connection with the sermons of this section is to be found in the fact that we have in them, in the germ, the Apostle's views upon the history in general, views which were afterwards more fully developed in certain chapters of his Epistle to the Romans. According to Prof. Ramsay[1] St. Paul sees in the history of the world a process of degeneration. There was a period in the history of the world when man possessed a real and true perception and knowledge of God and His nature, and of His relation to mankind. By observing, studying, and gradually understanding the facts and processes of the external world, man had become aware of the power and divinity of God, which were manifested therein. But this phase in the history of men had come to an end, and in his terrible description of the Roman world (Rom. i. 21–32) the Apostle gives us his conception of it as it appeared at the close of a long period of degeneration. At the very root of this process, causing and explaining it, lies idolatry. It obscured the true and good ideas of men as to the real nature of God, until, gradually, the Divine Being, the object of worship, is, by the perverseness of the human mind, changed not only into the images of mortal man himself, but also into those of the brute creation in its manifold forms.

And this is not the whole of the evil idolatry brought in its train. Not only did it destroy all that was noble

[1] Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 10 ff.

and exalted in man's conception of the Divine, but idolatrous worship resulted in a degraded social morality and a corrupt political atmosphere, and was slowly but surely sapping all that was akin to the Divine in the nature of man. It is this characteristic of idolatry which explains the Apostle's hatred of it. He had seen it with all its hideous results in his own city of Tarsus, where (to quote Prof. Ramsay's exact words)[1] "it distorted the whole life of the individual, falsified the political situation, made the whole fabric of the State unhealthy, and rendered the whole life and thought of the individual diseased and decadent."

But even his hatred of idolatry did not cover the whole ground of the Apostle's conception of pagan history. In spite of idolatry and of the repulsive elements it invariably brought in its train, paganism, according to St. Paul, was not altogether evil. Even in this corrupt, immoral world, there were men who stood superior to their surroundings, men who became a law to themselves, and who, by the consistency of their lives, put to shame many a Jew to whom God's law had been specifically revealed (Rom. ii. 14, 15). He had known such men in his own city, and he expresses his indebtedness to them (Rom. i. 14), and acknowledges that some portion of his spiritual experience and training was due to his intercourse with them. He had observed in them a desire for what was good, a preference for what was right, the working of an educated and sensitive conscience had not passed unnoticed by him. He had realized, too, in the heathen world the presence of that eager longing for the dawn of a better day, the wistful looking forward to the coming of a new era, of a golden age, to be celebrated by the appearance of a God incarnate in human form, which was such a remarkable feature of

[1] Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 11.

Roman life and literature in the period immediately preceding and following the birth of Christ. Thus St. Paul still recognized in the pagan world, in spite of the process of degeneration, and of the corrosive effects of idolatry, the existence of some moral force, and a faint perception of Divine truth, and, because of these qualities, and as far as they extended, paganism shared with the Mosaic dispensation in the work of preparing the world for the advent of Christ. Both at Lystra and at Athens this view is plainly set forth, that as, in relation to the Jews, the history of Israel was a period of training and education, with its climax only reached in Christ, so, in a parallel line, and on a lower plane, the history of paganism was leading to the same goal. All life, according to the Apostle, is a purpose of God, working itself out in the affairs of God and men. Now such a conception of paganism as we ascribe here to St. Paul was absolutely unthinkable to the Jew of Palestine with his narrow outlook, and the fact that it was possible for St. Paul can only be explained by the combination in him of the Jew with the Hellenist of Tarsus.

To the orthodox Jew of Jerusalem paganism was absolutely negative in its character, without any redeeming feature, accursed, and devoid of all ethical and spiritual value. There was in it neither piety nor virtue; it was evil undiluted, the very handiwork of Satan himself. Although the adhesion to his own religion of Gentiles in thousands might have convinced him to the contrary, and might have testified to the presence among them of a passionate yearning for truth and of ideals which were truly admirable, the Palestinian Jew still adhered to his uncompromising attitude, and refused to see even in Greek culture and knowledge anything but hostile elements, to be avoided and pro-

scribed. In the writings of St. Paul, the Hellenistic Jew of Tarsus, paganism has a positive function assigned to it. It had its place in the Divine plan of salvation, and the history of paganism runs side by side with that of Israel, and both reach their goal and fulfilment in Christ Jesus.

CHAPTER III

THE SERMON AT LYSTRA (Acts xiv. 8–18).

8 And at Lystra there sat a certain man, impotent in his
feet, a cripple from his mother's womb, who never had
9 walked. The same heard Paul speaking: who, fastening
his eyes upon him, and seeing that he had faith to be made
10 whole, said with a loud voice, Stand upright on thy feet.
11 And he leaped up and walked. And when the multitudes
saw what Paul had done, they lifted up their voice, saying in
the speech of Lycaonia, The gods are come down to us
12 in the likeness of men. And they called Barnabas, Jupiter;
13 and Paul, Mercury, because he was the chief speaker. And
the priest of Jupiter whose temple was before the city,
brought oxen and garlands unto the gates, and would have
14 done sacrifice with the multitudes. But when the apostles,
Barnabas and Paul, heard of it, they rent their garments,
and sprang forth among the multitude, crying out, and
saying—

15 Sirs, why do ye these things? We also are men of
like passions with you, and bring you good tidings, that ye
should turn from these vain things unto the living God,
16 who made the heaven and the earth and the sea, and all
that in them is: who in the generations gone by suffered
17 all the nations to walk in their own ways. And yet he
left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and
gave you from heaven rains and fruitful seasons, filling
your hearts with food and gladness.

18 And with these sayings scarce restrained they the multitudes
from doing sacrifice unto them.

LYSTRA.—Lystra was a small rustic town in the Lycaonian portion of the province of Galatia. It was favourably situated on a hill, in the middle of a pleasant valley, on the north side of a stream, and was about a mile from the modern village of Khalyn-Serai, which stands on the south side of the same stream.[1] In its comparative insignificance it presents a marked contrast to the majority of the towns visited by the Apostle in the course of his Missionary journeys. These, as a rule, are cities of importance, and, in many instances, great Imperial centres. Beyond the fact of its being a Roman colony, elevated to that dignity by Augustus, on account of its position on the military high-road connecting Antioch in Pisidia with Cilicia and Syria, as is proved by recently discovered inscriptions, Lystra possesses little or no interest from an Imperial point of view. Its sole historical importance is due to the fact that it was the scene of a characteristic incident in the Apostle's Missionary career, which enables us to realize his method of working amid surroundings which are unique, and without parallel, in the whole of the Apostolic cycle of narrative. In this incident at Lystra we have a striking and vivid picture of the Apostle as he moves in a commonplace Anatolian town, where the Hellenistic influence had hardly penetrated below the surface, and where the customs, language, and religion were those of native Anatolia, and not of the Græco-Roman civilization. The presence of the Apostles in a town of the size and character of Lystra is probably explained by the fact that they sought a temporary refuge there, until they could return to the more important sphere of labour in Iconium, whence they had recently been forcibly expelled.

There is, however, one point in connection with Lystra

[1] See Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, p. 223.

which makes it a place of considerable interest in the history of the early Christian Church—it was the home of Timothy. The Jewish community at Lystra does not seem to have been of sufficient importance to own a Synagogue, but that there were Jews there is proved by the fact of its being the home of Eunice, a pious Jewess, who had married a Greek, and apparently a man of some position and well known in South Galatia (Acts xvi. 1–3), and thus became the mother of Timothy. In this family there was not only Eunice herself, but also her mother Lois, and the education of Timothy on Jewish lines had formed the main interest in the lives of both women (2 Tim. i. 5 and iii. 15). It is by no means improbable that Paul and Barnabas found a home in the house of Eunice during their sojourn at Lystra.

THE APOSTLES AT LYSTRA.—The Apostolic mission to Lystra had been preceded by a stay of some considerable period (Acts xiv. 3) at Iconium, from which city the Apostles had eventually been violently expelled by a joint attack upon them of Jews and Gentiles. Driven thus from Iconium, they had taken refuge in Lystra and Derbe, neighbouring cities belonging to the region of Roman Lycaonia, where they continued their evangelistic labours. At Lystra there took place one of those miraculous cases of healing which are of comparatively rare occurrence in the narrative in the Acts, and which is recorded here, not for any results it achieved in enhancing the success of the Gospel, but solely because of its direct connection with the sermon delivered by St. Paul, which St. Luke was anxious to preserve.

The miraculous power in this case was exercised by the Apostle on behalf of a cripple, whose physical defect is emphasized by three distinct statements—"he was impotent in his feet," "a cripple from his birth," "who had never walked." If any weight is to be attached to

the Bezan reading here, which adds that "this man gladly listened to Paul's sermon, and was in the grace of God," it would seem that the cripple had already been attracted to Judaism, and that he belonged to that class of "God-fearing" Gentiles who formed such a prominent feature in Græco-Asiatic cities. But quite apart from the Bezan reading, it is evident, from the ordinary Text, that he had been impressed by the Apostle's preaching, and that this had come to the notice of the Apostle himself, who recognized in the cripple the dawning of a faith which was capable of further development.

One day, therefore, St. Paul addressed him, and, in a loud voice, commanded him to stand upright on his feet, a command which the cripple promptly obeyed. This remarkable manifestation of healing power would seem to have taken place on a market day, or on the occasion of some great festival, for the narrative gives us the impression that there was a greater multitude of people assembled at this juncture than would be possible in a city of the size of Lystra under normal conditions. The incident was witnessed by this large crowd, gathered into the city from the surrounding district, and the effect upon them was electrical, and gives us a remarkable insight into the condition of the religious thoughts and ideas of the natives of this locality. In their excitement they abandon the less familiar Greek in which they had hitherto been conversing, and give vent to their feelings by shouting in their native tongue, as I have often witnessed a Welsh crowd break forth into the vernacular under the stress of similar conditions. In a moment the veneer of Hellenism disappears, and the real nature of the Lystran crowd becomes apparent. To these Anatolian peasants the old gods were still living realities, who sometimes paid visits to earth in human guise, and, to

their heated imagination, the Apostles were none other than Zeus, the supreme deity, accompanied by his satellite, Hermes. In accordance with Oriental ideas, which associate superiority with reserve and separation from the world, Barnabas represents the majesty of Zeus, while in Paul, the active, energetic orator, is recognized Hermes, the messenger of the gods. The well-known story of Philemon and Baucis, related by Ovid,[1] is also associated with this identical district, and serves to support the contention that belief in "theophanies" was characteristic of the people. Acting on this supposition, they immediately proceed to pay divine honours to their exalted visitants, and requisitioning the services of the priests[2] of the local temple of Zeus, they prepare to offer sacrifice to them. The Apostles meanwhile would seem to have departed from the scene of the miracle, and to have been quite unaware of the nature of the events which followed, probably owing to their ignorance of the language in which the proceedings were carried on. Information of what is being projected is, however, soon conveyed to them in their dwelling, whereupon they immediately rush into the midst of the crowd, and bring the preparations for the sacrificial rites to an abrupt termination. Although the narrative itself does not specify the speaker, there is no room to question the fact that it was St. Paul, still in the character of Hermes attributed to him by the crowd, who delivers the emphatic protest against their proposed action, which forms the subject of the present chapter.

The Sermon (Acts xiv. 15, 16, 17).

Adopting a perfectly courteous tone, St. Paul addresses the crowd as "Sirs," and proceeds to expostulate with

[1] Ovid, *Met.* viii. 719 ff.
[2] See Bezan Text.

them, and to demonstrate to them the absolute folly of their conduct.

15 "We are no gods as ye imagine us to be, but men like yourselves," he exclaims, "and we are come with a special message to you, the purport of which is to teach you the futility of the very proceedings in which you are now engaged, and to lead you to better and higher paths. There is a God, Whom you ought to worship, but He is neither Zeus, nor Hermes, in whose honour you were about to offer these sacrifices, and who are mere vanities, having no real existence outside of your own imaginations. The God that I preach to you is a living God, a real and true God, and this very reality is ever revealed to them that have eyes to see and minds to understand, for He is the Creator of the world around you, heaven and earth and sea are the work of His hands.

16 "If you ask me why the God Whom we declare unto you now has not revealed Himself before, why He has left you in ignorance of Himself during the countless ages of the past, I can only answer that in His wisdom He has allowed you to go your own way.

17 "But even that is not altogether true, because although no direct revelation was vouchsafed to you, you might have used your own powers of observation, for nature in all her manifold phases teaches you about Him. The very succession of seasons, rains, and harvests—all that is connected with your daily life in the fields—testifies to the love and power of God. It is His bountiful hand that has been pouring forth the very gifts and blessings which are at the root of your festivals, one of which you are celebrating to-day."

WHY WAS THE INCIDENT SELECTED FOR RECORD?—Dr. Chase[1] suggests that the fact of the incident at Lystra being narrated with such detail is due to the intention of

[1] Chase, *Credibility of the Acts*, p. 196.

the Apostle himself. "The startling events would appeal to St. Paul's sense of humour, that he of all men should have been mistaken for one of the gods, and scarcely have been able to restrain his would-be devotees from offering sacrifice to him. Here indeed was a travesty of his own words that 'he was all things to all men.' The scene and words which he then spoke stood out in his memory, clear and well-defined."

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE NARRATIVE AND SERMON.—*Objections to the authenticity.* The truth of the narrative is accepted by almost all rational criticism, and the objections to it are, on the whole, exceedingly weak and puerile.

Among them may be noted the following—

(*a*) According to Weizsacker,[1] the incident is merely the reproduction of Ovid's heathen fable, which the author has selected as a fitting introduction to a speech which is entirely of his own composition.

(*b*) Another line of criticism regards the miracle as a simple repetition of the healing of the lame man in Jerusalem by St. Peter and St. John (Acts iii. 1–8). The surrounding circumstances and the results, in either case, differ so radically from each other, that it is difficult to attach any real weight to this statement. In the one case the miracle leads to the appearance of the Apostles before the Sanhedrin as defendants, while the incident at Lystra has a precisely contrary effect, which causes St. Paul and his companion to be regarded as gods.

(*c*) Others, again, see in the worship of the Apostles a counterpart of the worship of St. Peter by Cornelius, which is followed, in each case, by an expostulation expressed in almost identical terms (Acts x. 25, 26).

(*d*) A fourth objection comes from another quarter,

[1] Weizsacker, *Apostolic Age*, p. 246.

and is based on the lack of any distinctive Christian teaching in the sermon and the improbability that St. Paul would have delivered an address which contains not a single reference to his own special Gospel. This feature in the sermon, however, argues for, rather than against, its authenticity. It is a decided mark of Paulinism, and is recognized as one of the most characteristic traits in his Missionary method. It was his invariable practice to accommodate himself to the standard of his audience, and to utilize whatever knowledge and experience that audience possessed, in order to lift it up to newer and higher truths. In the present instance he makes use of arguments which would appeal irresistibly to country people familiar with nature and her processes, and he expounds to them, in the most masterly way, the lessons that should be drawn from seasons, rains, harvests, and from country life generally. Thus he gradually, step by step, leads them to the great truth that he would proclaim, that there is but one living and true God, Whose messenger he is, and Who alone is to be worshipped and adored. It is by no means impossible that the sermon was interrupted and brought to an abrupt termination by the impatience of the crowd, before the Apostle had an opportunity of reaching the climax of his argument and of preaching "salvation through Christ." It is, on the other hand, absolutely contrary to the nature of things to conceive a second-century redactor deliberately composing a Pauline sermon (as is alleged by some critics to be the case here) which contains not a trace of Christian doctrine. The temptation, in such a case, would be to increase rather than to decrease the Christian element, whereas the sermon, as we have it, is in perfect harmony with the peculiar conditions here, and with what we know of the Apostle's method of approaching heathen.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF THE AUTHENTICITY.—The following points are worth noting in favour of the authenticity of the sermon.

A. THE PAULINE FEATURES.—1. *The coincidences with the First Epistle to the Thessalonians*, the nearest to it, in point of time, of all the Pauline Epistles. In the sermon the object of St. Paul's mission is "that ye should turn away from these vain things unto the living God" (Acts xiv. 15), while in the Epistle the result of his preaching is expressed in the sentence "ye turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God" (1 Thess. i. 9). In both cases the word ἐπιστρέφειν (to turn away) is used, and God is the "living God" in both sermon and Epistle.

2. *The characteristic Pauline question and answer in Acts* xiv. 16, 17. "Why did God leave the Gentiles in ignorance of Himself during all the preceding ages of the past? Why does He reveal Himself now?" The difficulty is only touched upon in this sermon, and there is no attempt to enter upon anything like a complete discussion of the question. Neither the audience nor the occasion were suitable for such treatment, and the Apostle is content with pointing out the direction in which the solution is to be found. "God permitted them to follow their own desires until now." The blame for their ignorance could not, however, be laid altogether at God's door, for He had not left Himself entirely without witness. Their own blindness had much to answer for, and had contributed materially to bring about the present lamentable situation. The difficulty crops up again in the Apostle's speech at Athens, where God is said to have "overlooked the times of ignorance" (Acts xvii. 30), and also in the Epistle to the Romans (iii. 25), where "the passing over of the sins done aforetime" is ascribed to the forbearance of God.

The partial answer to the question is given in another place in the Epistle, and follows exactly the suggestion in the sermon (see Rom. i. 19, 20), with its emphasis on God's relative revelation of Himself in nature, and the inexcusable blindness of men, who refused to see and learn. The real and complete solution of the difficulty is found in the Epistle to the Galatians (iv. 4), where the Apostle declares that "in *the fulness of time,* God sent forth His Son."

B. The historicity *of the narrative* is confirmed on other grounds.

1. In support of the assertion that Paul and Barnabas were worshipped as gods on account of the miracle of healing, the similar experiences of Apollonius, whose home at Tyana was not very far from this identical district, may be adduced.

2. The definite description of the temple at Lystra as the "temple of Jupiter which was before the gate" has its parallels in connection with other cities, as *e.g.* Claudiopolis, where an inscription has been discovered which reads Διὶ προαστίῳ.[1]

3. With the narrative we may compare the reference in 2 Tim. iii. 11 to the persecutions at Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra.

Timothy was probably an eye-witness of the stoning at Lystra, and the reason why Derbe, which is invariably mentioned with Lystra in the Acts, is omitted here, is that there was no persecution in that city, a point which testifies to the correctness of the narrative in the Acts. The order in which the names occur here, Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, is in accord with the chronological order in the Acts.[2]

[1] See Knowling, *The Testimony of St. Paul to Christ*, pp. 519, 520; and Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 51.
[2] Knowling, *supra*, p. 153.

THE EFFECTS OF THE SERMON.—In spite of the Apostle's impassioned appeal the crowd could hardly be restrained from carrying out its original purpose and proceeding with the sacrificial rites. Their disillusionment would seem to have left behind it a feeling of disappointment and chagrin, which was perhaps only natural under the circumstances, and this would account, in some degree, for their subsequent behaviour towards the Apostles. The people of South Galatia were noted for their fickleness, as we learn from the pointed references in Gal. iii. 1, iv. 9, and v. 7, and we have an admirable specimen of this quality in the conduct of the mob of Lystra. The very men who but a few days previously had acclaimed St. Paul as a god, now, hounded on by the Jews who had come down from Antioch and Iconium, laid hold of him, dragged him out of the city, and, having to all appearances stoned the life out of him, left him dead on the scene of the tragedy. He was, however, not dead, and after an interval he rose up, entered the city, and, on the morrow, accompanied by Barnabas, he left for Derbe, thirty miles away. The visit to Lystra, with its stirring incidents, its enthusiasms, and its reactions, was not altogether unproductive, and the fickleness of the crowd did not alienate the affections of the Apostle.

A few months afterwards, on the return journey to Jerusalem, he visits the Church at Lystra, settles its organization, appoints elders, and encourages them, in the face of persecution, with words of comfort and exhortation (Acts xiv. 21–23). He pays them a third visit during the Second Missionary Journey (Acts xvi. 1–5), when he delivered to them the decrees of the Apostolic Council in Jerusalem, and takes with him his young friend Timothy, to be henceforth his lifelong disciple and companion. One more visit to Lystra is

recorded (Acts xviii. 23), where the city is undoubtedly included in the phrase "the region of Galatia and Phrygia," which the Apostle passed through at the commencement of his Third Missionary Journey for the purpose of "establishing all the disciples."

ST. PAUL'S LOVE OF NATURE.—The Apostle has often been charged with being deficient in the gift of the appreciation of the beautiful in nature and art. There is, at any rate, no proof that the matchless artistic creations of ancient Greece appealed to him, and the narrative of the visit to Athens would seem to emphasize the fact that they had precisely the contrary effect. With regard to his appreciation of nature his Epistles show little or no sign of it. He seldom draws any parallels from nature, and the imagery is generally that of the city, the stadium, and the camp. He certainly refers to the stars in 1 Cor. xv. 41, and instances the growth of a seed in the same chapter; but, according to Mr. Baring Gould,[1] in the only elaborate illustration he draws from nature, that of grafting (Rom. xi. 24), he is guilty of a serious misunderstanding of the process in this particular case.

He speaks of the wild olive as grafted on to the cultivated tree, which is the reverse of what is actually done, and on that misstatement bases an elaborate argument. It is only right to add that Sanday and Headlam[2] give quite a different explanation of the simile, and one which absolves the Apostle from the error ascribed to him by Mr. Baring Gould. This speech is often quoted as affording a striking proof of the existence in the Apostle of a strong appreciation of the beautiful in nature, of which there is so little trace in his writings. But, as Dr. Chase[3] has well pointed out,

[1] Baring Gould, *St. Paul*, p. 227.
[2] Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 328.
[3] Chase, *Credibility of the Acts*, p. 198.

"This is to misunderstand the inner secret of the Apostle's language at Lystra. The language is the language of the Old Testament, found in the Psalms of Creation. It is not the poet interpreter, filled with admiration of God's world, that speaks here, but the student of Holy Scripture ; not the literary artist, but the prophet, whose main thought is not the loveliness of God's nature, but the impartial beneficence of God."

NOTE.—The discovery of a Greek inscription by Mr. W. M. Calder and Sir W. M. Ramsay during the summer of 1909, about a day's ride southward of Lystra, seems to throw an interesting light on the visit of Paul and Barnabas to Lystra. The inscription runs, "Tones and Macrinus, also called Abaskantus and Batasis, sons of Bretasis, made in accordance with a vow, and at their own expense (a statue of) Hermes, most great, along with a sundial, and dedicated it to Zeus, the Son god," where the close association of the gods Hermes and Zeus, and the fact that the names in the inscription are those of natives, seems to confirm the narrative in the Acts (*Times*, Nov. 11, 1909).

CHAPTER IV

THE SERMON AT ATHENS (Acts xvii. 15–34).

15 But they that conducted Paul brought him as far as
Athens: and receiving a commandment unto Silas and
Timothy that they should come to him with all speed, they
departed.
16 Now while Paul waited for them at Athens, his spirit was
provoked within him, as he beheld the city full of idols.
17 So he reasoned in the synagogue with the Jews and the
devout persons, and in the market-place every day with
18 them that met with him. And certain also of the Epicurean
and Stoic philosophers encountered him. And some said,
What would this babbler say? other some, He seemeth to
be a setter forth of strange gods: because he preached
19 Jesus and the resurrection. And they took hold of him,
and brought him unto the Areopagus, saying, May we know
what this new teaching is, which is spoken by thee? For
20 thou bringest certain strange things to our ears: we would
21 know therefore what these things mean. (Now all the
Athenians and the strangers sojourning there spent their
time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new
22 thing.) And Paul stood in the midst of the Areopagus,
and said—

Ye men of Athens, in all things I perceive that ye are
23 somewhat superstitious. For as I passed along, and
observed the objects of your worship, I found also
an altar with this inscription, TO AN UNKNOWN GOD.
What therefore ye worship in ignorance, this set I forth
24 unto you. The God that made the world and all things

therein, he, being Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth
25 not in temples made with hands; neither is he served
by men's hands, as though he needed anything, seeing
he himself giveth to all life, and breath, and all
26 things; and he made of one every nation of men for
to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined
their appointed seasons, and the bounds of their habit-
27 ation; that they should seek God, if haply they might
feel after him, and find him, though he is not far from
28 each one of us: for in him we live, and move, and have
our being; as certain even of your own poets have said,
29 For we are also his offspring. Being then the offspring
of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like
unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and device
30 of man. The times of ignorance therefore God over-
looked; but now he commandeth men that they should
31 all everywhere repent: inasmuch as he hath appointed a
day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness
by the man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath
given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him
from the dead.

32 Now when they heard of the resurrection of the dead,
some mocked; but others said, We will hear thee concerning
33 this yet again. Thus Paul went out from among them.
34 But certain men clave unto him, and believed: among
whom also was Dionysius the Areopagite, and a woman
named Damaris, and others with them.

ST. PAUL'S ARRIVAL AT ATHENS.—It was during the Second Missionary Journey, towards the close of the summer of 50 A.D., that the Apostle paid his one and only visit to the chief city of Greece. He arrived by sea from Berœa, whence his departure had been hastened by the hostile attacks of Jews from Thessalonica, and landed at the harbour of Piræus. An escort of disciples had accompanied him on the voyage from Berœa, but, after having seen him safely conducted to his destination,

they returned home, conveying instructions to Silas and Timothy to rejoin him at Athens at the earliest opportunity. For the first and only time in the course of his Missionary career St. Paul finds himself companionless, and the loneliness of his situation seems to have weighed somewhat heavily upon him. There is a tone of sadness traceable in the narrative at this point, which denotes a conspicuous absence of that buoyancy of mind and spirit, so characteristic of the Apostle throughout his long and arduous life. The persecutions at Thessalonica and Berœa had not been without their due effect, and the absence of his faithful and affectionate companions did not tend to lessen his dejection.

It is doubtful whether a visit to Athens was included in the Apostle's original plan of operations, and it is by no means improbable that his arrival there was simply caused by his need of a temporary refuge from the storm that had arisen at Berœa. It is quite certain, however, that his experiences at Athens were of such a character as to preclude him from ever repeating the visit.

Athens in the First Century of the Christian Era.—The Athens which St. Paul saw was not, perhaps, the Athens of Plato and Pericles, of Demosthenes and Euripides, but she still had a name to conjure with. Although Greece had been under Roman rule for two centuries Athens, in virtue of her history and fame, still remained a free city, governed by her own municipal authority, represented, it is true, not by the far-famed Demos, but by the ancient and aristocratic court of the Areopagus. In spite of many changes, and much degeneration, she was still the artistic and literary capital of the world, and, according to the unanimous testimony of contemporaries, she upheld her reputation as, of all cities, the most devoted to religion. Petronius, the Latin poet and critic, is said to have sarcastically remarked

that in Athens it was easier to find a god than a man.

She had lost little of her external glory, and was now a vast treasure-house of all that was best and noblest in artistic creation. Rome, which had laid such heavy hands upon most of the conquered cities of the East, had hitherto spared Athens, and the day of her spoliation was still to come. She was no less famous in the domain of learning than in that of art, and the University of Athens ranked first in the whole Empire, so that no well-born or wealthy Roman was considered to have completed his education who had not been numbered among her students.

The real fame of Athens was, however, centred in her philosophy. All the great philosophical systems had their home there. They had not all originated there, but they found there a congenial soil, and it was in Athens that they had developed and reached maturity, and were to be found in their greatest perfection. Here were to be seen the Academy of Plato, the Lyceum of Aristotle, the Porch of Zeno, and the Garden of Epicurus, the head-quarters of all that was most exalted in pagan thought and culture. This, then, was the Athens in which St. Paul finds himself, either as a refugee seeking temporary shelter from the storm of persecution, or in accordance with a well-conceived plan which included Athens within the circle of its operations. But whatever may be the explanation of his presence in the city, there is no hesitation on the Apostle's part as to his course of procedure, now that he finds himself within its walls. The opportunity of preaching Christ in Athens is too precious to be lost, and the Gospel of the Kingdom must be proclaimed in this metropolis of art and learning. He was not altogether new to his surroundings in Athens. His residence and upbringing in a Hellenistic

city like Tarsus would have rendered him fairly familiar with them. Tarsus had her temples and statues, her university and schools of philosophy, and it was at Tarsus that he acquired that cosmopolitanism and *savoir faire* which enabled him to move easily and without constraint in Athens, the home and centre of pure Hellenism.

ST. PAUL AND GREEK ART.—There is no evidence in the narrative that St. Paul was moved to exhibit even the faintest admiration of the marvellous artistic conceptions with which Athens was then filled to such an extent as to impel Pausanias, who visited the city in the following century, to exclaim that the city was one altar, one sacrifice and votive offering to the gods.

The whole tone of the narrative points in the contrary direction, and more especially Acts xvii. 16, which accentuates the fact that "his spirit was moved within him as he beheld the city full of idols." The very road from the landing-place at Piræus to the city is described by Philostratus, in his account of the visit of Apollonius of Tyana to Athens, somewhere about this period, as being marked at intervals by numberless statues and altars of the gods. As the Apostle drew nearer to the city itself, this feature would increase in intensity, and there would be unfolded before his eyes a prospect of such splendour, as no other city in the world could produce. Temples and porticoes, statues and paintings, the most exquisite that the human imagination had ever conceived were scattered around him in the greatest profusion. There was, however, no corresponding exaltation of the Apostle's mind, they only deepened his dejection, and moved his righteous soul to anger. Underlying all the splendour and artistic beauty, forming the very soul and spirit of that scene in all its wonderful richness, was the demon of idolatry, and the Apostle's life in a Hellenistic city had taught

him, only too well, the dread havoc wrought upon humanity by that perversion. To it alone he ascribed the terrible degeneration which had reduced the world to a state of absolute chaos and hopelessness. Idolatry had destroyed man's natural conception of God, irretrievably corrupted public and private life, and, because of it, the world lay in the darkness of sin and despair, from which only the Gospel and power of Jesus Christ Whom he served, could raise and deliver it.

And yet, in spite of his abhorrence of idolatry and all its accompaniments, with that broadmindedness and large-hearted charity, so characteristic of him, the Apostle's attitude is not altogether condemnatory.

In the Athenians' devotion to religion, manifested in the artistic and architectural treasures of the city, and in the altar erected "TO AN UNKNOWN GOD," he can find proofs of a yearning after higher things; they were feeling their way, groping in the dark, it is true, seeking for God, "if haply they might find Him."

ST. PAUL AND GREEK PHILOSOPHY.—Although Athenian philosophy at this period was not what it had been in the golden age of Plato and Aristotle, there was much in it that was moral, and noble, and elevating, and that would, as such, appeal to St. Paul, who would find himself much more capable of expressing admiration of, and sympathy with, it than was possible in the case of Greek art. Every allusion on the Apostle's part to the sublime art of Athens has in it something of the element of contempt, whereas the philosophic teaching is referred to with evident respect, and is utilized as a stepping-stone to his own teaching, and as a preparation for his own Gospel. This is specially true of the tenets of the Stoic School, which seem to meet with markedly sympathetic treatment at the hands of the Apostle. Nor is it difficult to account for his attitude towards

this School. Stoicism in its origin was a product of the East,[1] and the majority of its most famous exponents came from the very district in which the Apostle himself had been born and bred ; while Zeno, the founder of the School, was a native of the neighbouring island of Cyprus. According to Strabo,[2] Tarsus itself was the home of such well-known Stoics as Antipater, Aristodemus, and the two Athenodori ; while Aratus, who is quoted in St. Paul's sermon, came from Soli, Cleanthes from Assos, and Epictetus from Hierapolis in Phrygia.

Tarsus was thus a famous centre of Stoic teaching, and within the walls of its University were to be found some of the most renowned representatives of that School. Stoic teachers and their doctrines would therefore be familiar enough to the Apostle, and in dealing with them, as he did at Athens, he was treading on firm ground. But, quite apart from the fact of his close acquaintance with the Stoic tenets, there was much in that system of philosophy which would command his admiration and respect, and this, in a lesser degree, would be true of the rival system of Epicurus. Both systems were intensely practical in their aims; they were a living force in the world, and were intended to satisfy the natural craving of man for some guidance how to live and die. The older philosophies of Greece had been mainly concerned with the investigation of truth in itself, and were ideal in their character, but their force as practical elements in human life had now been spent. The free political life of Greece was a thing of the past, now that Rome was exercising its iron sway over the country, and the ancient religion of Hellas had become entirely discredited, and had ceased to exert any practical influence on the lives of thinking

[1] See Lightfoot's *Philippians*, pp. 303, 304.
[2] Strabo, xiv. 13, 14.

men. To fill the void thus created by the comparative failure of philosophy, politics, and religion, was the aim of the systems of both Zeno and Epicurus, and, to some extent, that aim was realized.[1] In some of the Stoic doctrines, St. Paul would recognize much that was akin to Christianity, and much that was admirably adapted to form an introduction to the more advanced and more effective Gospel that he himself preached.

Of this character are such doctrines as—

(1) The universal presence of God, Who is good, and His fatherly relation to man, Whose spirit also dwells within and among men.

(2) The brotherhood of man, with its natural corollary the emphasis laid on the sense of duty towards others.

(3) The conception of sin and the office of conscience.

So close is the affinity between later aspects of Stoicism, as found, *e.g.*, in Seneca, and Christianity, that it has been maintained that Seneca was a Christian, and that St. Paul derived a considerable portion of his teaching from a Stoic source. This assumption is, however, definitely disproved by a close comparison of the writings of St. Paul and Seneca. The resemblance is only on the surface, and the inner spirit of Seneca's teaching is found to be hostile and repellent. Although there is no foundation for the assumed knowledge of Christianity on the part of Seneca, it is quite clear from the sermon at Athens that St. Paul found sufficient material in the Stoic system whereupon to base his appeal to a characteristic philosophical audience.

ST. PAUL'S EVANGELISTIC WORK AT ATHENS.—1. *Among the Jews.* In accordance with his normal method of procedure the Apostle addresses himself primarily to the Jews of Athens, of whom there appears to have been a considerable colony at this period.

[1] See Lightfoot's *Philippians*, pp. 271, 272.

Philo,[1] who was included in an embassy to Rome in 39–40 A.D., to protest against the outrages committed on the Jews of his own city, Alexandria, lays stress on the important services rendered to the Empire by his fellow-religionists in Athens. The Apostle's work among his compatriots does not seem to have met with any considerable degree of success, and, in this respect, his experiences in Athens were not unlike those in other Greek cities. St. Luke, following his invariable practice of emphasizing only the important features of the Apostolic mission, passes lightly over the work among the Jews, and devotes practically the whole of the narrative to describe the Apostle's intercourse with the Greeks. It is evident that the interest of the mission to Athens, both in the mind of the historian and of the Apostle himself, who was probably his authority for the record, lay in the approach to the Greek element, and in the sermon which was the outcome of that encounter.

2. *Among the Greeks. St. Paul in the Agora.* A speaker who desired an audience in Athens would naturally select one spot in which to deliver his message, viz. the great square which was found in the heart of every Greek city, around which were grouped all the public buildings, the temples, the senate house, law courts, as well as the colonnades or porches. The Agora at Athens, with its incomparable surroundings, has been so often and so adequately described, that it is only necessary here to refer to its outstanding features.

In it were to be found the head-quarters of the municipal government of the city; in the open space in the centre, the markets were held and all commercial business transacted; its colonnades were the resort of fashionable pleasure-seekers, philosophers, teachers,

[1] Philo, *Leg ad Gaium*, ii. 587.

newsmongers, quacks, and idlers. It was in this busy centre of city life, and to a crowd in many respects refined and critical, but shallow and devoid of moral power, composed of men of all professions and of all degrees, that St. Paul proclaimed his message.

In the course of a few days he became a familiar figure in the Agora, and, in consequence of the novelty of his teaching, attained a considerable degree of notoriety. The leaders of the great rival schools of philosophy would soon learn that there was a new teacher seeking pupils and adherents, and proclaiming doctrines which were strange and hitherto unheard of, and it was not long before the Apostle had many of the prominent philosophical teachers among his audience. There would seem to have been a considerable difference of opinion among the crowd as to the merits of the new teacher, one section evidently regarding him with some measure of contempt, as being nothing better than a *σπερμολόγος*, "a picker up of unconsidered trifles," or as Prof. Ramsay translates it, "a bounder." Another section took a more serious view of the case, and saw in the Apostle an introducer of strange gods—a new god of healing, *Ἰησοῦς* (seeing in the name an allusion to the Greek word *ἴασις*), and a goddess, *Ἀνάστασις*, resurrection.

Now the introduction of new gods was a grave matter. The Athenians were by no means bigoted or narrow in their religious ideas, and gods and goddesses of all nations were welcomed among them, and temples erected in their honour, but all this must be done in order. This was a question for the State, and the sanction of the State must be obtained before these strange gods and goddesses could be proclaimed, and their cult recognized. The ruling authority at this time was the court of the Areopagus, and before this court the

disseminator of the new doctrines must appear, in order that the authority might decide whether the preaching and worshipping of these new deities were permissible, and in accordance with the exigencies of the State. With this object in view St. Paul is arrested, and, without any violence, is brought before the council of the Areopagus, which was probably sitting at the time in the Στοά βασιλική, within the limits of the Agora itself.

THE PLACE WHERE THE SERMON WAS DELIVERED, AND THE CHARACTER OF THE AUDIENCE.—At this point it is well to note that the view set forth here as to the locality of the sermon and the character of the audience is by no means generally accepted, and that the whole question has given rise to a considerable controversy, which demands further consideration. The old idea that the address was of the nature of a defence against a criminal charge, after the analogy of the *Apologia* of Socrates, and before the same judicial body, is now almost universally abandoned, and calls for no further comment.

There is no criminal charge in question, and the character of the address itself, which is a reply to a simple request for more detailed information concerning the doctrines that he is proclaiming, is a sufficient refutation of the theory.

There are, however, two theories, the one strongly advocated by Dr. Chase[1] and the other by Sir William Ramsay,[2] which demand further notice.

A. *Dr. Chase's theory.* According to this theory, which accepts the local rendering of Ἄρειος πάγος as "the hill of Mars" given in the Authorised Version, the Apostle was conducted to the elevated spot where the ancient meeting of the court of the Areopagus was

[1] See Chase, *Credibility of the Acts*, p. 208 ff.
[2] See Ramsay, *St Paul the Traveller*, p. 243 ff.

situated, and there delivered his sermon to a miscellaneous crowd, consisting of philosophers and frequenters of the Agora, whose sole motive was curiosity to hear more of this strange teaching. In support of his theory Dr. Chase argues from *the narrative*—

1. That the request for further information is put, not in the mouth of officials, but of the crowd in the Agora, which is already interested in the Apostle's discussions.

2. The motive or spirit of the request is explained by the passion for "telling or hearing something new," for which the Athenians were notorious.

3. The sequel to the speech is not a judicial decision, however informal, but a division of opinion.

He also maintains with regard to the *sermon itself*—

1. That it is not addressed to the Areopagites (whether as magistrates or university officials), but to a miscellaneous Athenian audience.

2. That there is nothing in it which suggests an *apologia*. He attributes the move to the hill of Areopagus to the desire to ensure a quiet hearing.

There are two objections to this view—

1. The space on the top of the hill is not sufficiently large to accommodate the crowd that, according to the theory itself, must have congregated there.

2. It ignores the tone of the narrative, which bears unmistakable signs of a legal and official proceeding.

B. *Prof. Ramsay's theory.* Prof. Ramsay is of opinion that the proceedings took place in the Στοὰ βασιλική, before the council of the Areopagus, acting as the civic educational authority, charged with the duty of inquiring into the credentials and capabilities of every new teacher who sought a recognized status in the city of Athens, and of granting or refusing such a request. The existence of such a body, entrusted with the control of the educational policy of the State, is, according to

him, an acknowledged fact, and in Athens, the natural resort of every would-be philosopher, teacher, or quack, was of essential importance. Our information as to the existence or character of this authority is, however, too vague to enable us to accept this theory as quite satisfactory, and, in the absence of fuller knowledge on the point, the view advocated in these pages, which is also adopted by Mr. Rackham,[1] would seem (in spite of some difficulties, such as the lack of sufficient seriousness in the proceedings, and the absence of any definite decision on the part of the court) best adapted to meet all the exigencies of the situation.

Analysis of the Sermon.[2]

1. The heathen world and its idolatry (Acts xvii. 22, 23).

2. The doctrine of God as Creator, with its corollary, the condemnation of idolatry as being in absolute contradiction to this conception (Acts xvii. 24, 25).

3. The revelation of God's purpose—

(*a*) In the unity of the human race (Acts xvii. 26).

(*b*) In the process of history (Acts xvii. 27).

(*c*) To the end that man should seek and find Him. This is attainable because of the indwelling of God and the sonship of man (Acts xvii. 28).

This is followed by a further condemnation of idolatry as being inconsistent with the Fatherhood of God and the Divine nature (Acts xvii. 29).

(*d*) God's attitude towards the heathen world is one of forbearance, on account of its ignorance (Acts xvii. 30).

(*e*) The call to repentance, and the proclamation of the judgment to come, followed by a declaration of the personality of the Judge (Acts xvii. 31).

[1] Rackham, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 311.

[2] Taken from Chase's *Credibility of the Acts.*

THE SERMON (Acts xvii. 22–31).

The Apostle opens his discourse in terms used by
22 great Athenian orators from time immemorial, "Ye men of Athens," and then, with his usual tact, proceeds to gain the favour of his audience by a well-turned compliment. "*In all things I perceive that you are devoted to*
23 *religion.* For among the numberless altars scattered broadcast throughout your city, I came upon one dedicated *to an unknown God.* Now this God, whom you acknowledge as unknown to you, and in Whose honour, in spite of that limitation of knowledge, you have erected an altar, this God, I say, I proclaim to you, and His messenger I claim to be."

24 "He is the Creator of the universe, the world and all that is in it being the very work of His hands, and He is the supreme Lord and Master of all. There is, therefore, no truth in the teaching of your Epicurean philosophers that the universe is the result of a chance concourse of atoms. How, then, can the Lord of all dwell in temples made with hands, or be propitiated by human gifts, as your pagan system with its temples and offerings seems to imply? How can He, Who fills heaven and earth with His presence, be confined within walls? Nay, your Epicureans themselves allow that He Who owns all things can need nothing at the hands of man."[1]

25 "Now He that made the world is not indifferent to it, or separate from it, because He is the very source and maintenance of all life, *seeing that He Himself giveth to all*
26 *life, and breath, and all things.* Our God is not only the Creator of the universe, but the Creator of man as well, and all men, and all nations, share the same life, and the same blood, since He *made of one every nation to dwell*

[1] Lucretius, ii. 650: "Nihil indiga nostri."

on the earth. There is, therefore, no justification for your Athenian civic pride, by which you arrogate to yourselves an innate superiority over every Greek city, because you, forsooth, are αὐτόχθονες, nor for your national exclusiveness, according to which you are Ἕλληνες, while all others are βάρβαροι. We are all brothers, partakers of one flesh and blood, citizens of one heavenly city, even as your Stoics have taught you."

"God is, again, not only the God of Creation, but also the God of Providence. In this assertion I am also at one with your Stoic philosophers, with their doctrine of πρόνοια (providence). He is not only the *Author* of man's being, but He *rules* over him in the manifold phases of his life. He devised the very purpose of his existence, viz. that he should replenish the earth, and He regulates the educational process necessary to bring about that result. The successive stages of man's development, the distribution and distinction of races and nationalities, Jew, Greek, Roman, and Barbarian, are of His appointment."

27 "As the very aim of God in creation was that man should replenish the earth, so the end of this process of training was that he should *seek God, if haply he might feel after Him and find Him.* This you Athenians have not succeeded in doing. You have been groping in the dark, and there is no excuse for your failure, because *God is not far from each of us. For in Him we live, and move, and have our being.*

28 "All that we possess as men, our physical powers, and all that is included in our conscious existence, its intellectual activities as well as its spiritual energies, are dependent upon Him, even as one of your own poets, Aratus, a Cilician like myself, has well said, *For we also are His offspring.*

29 "Seeing, then, that God is the great Father of all, the

source and preserver of all life, and we His children, how can His Divine nature have any likeness to, or be represented by, images of gold, silver, and stone, which are only the creations of man's thought and imagination?"

"The time has now arrived when your idolatry, which has ruined your conceptions of God and wrought such havoc in the world, should be abandoned. The past, with all its errors and darkness, God has been pleased to *overlook* because of your *ignorance*, but there is no longer room for any such plea, inasmuch as God has definitely revealed Himself. This revelation of Himself consists in a command from Him *that all men, everywhere, should repent*, because *He has appointed a day in which He will judge the world in righteousness*. In righteousness did I say? Yes, He will judge the world in the person of a *Man*, touched by the feeling of our infirmities, and capable therefore of sympathy, Whom He has appointed, and Whose credentials and fitness are vouched for by the fact of *His having raised Him from the dead*."

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE SERMON.—1. *Arguments against the authenticity*. We shall proceed, first of all, to deal with the criticism which denies the claim of the sermon at Athens to be an authentic utterance of the Apostle.

(*a*) *St. Paul's attitude towards idolatry*. One of the main objections to its authenticity is based on the view that the Apostle's attitude towards idolatry, as manifested throughout the sermon, and more especially in Acts xvii. 30, where it is ascribed to ignorance, is absolutely incompatible with his definitely expressed opinion in the Epistles,[1] and we are bound to confess that there is a considerable degree of truth in the allegation. It is an undoubted fact that in his Epistles idolatry is represented as a system without any redeeming feature

[1] Schmiedel on "Acts" in *Encyclo. Bibl.*

whatsoever, "it is degraded and wholly degrading."[1] It had its root in man's folly, and it blossomed forth into the foulest moral and social corruption (Rom. i. 23, 24). Its practical effect was to deprive mankind of all hope, and to transform God's world (κόσμος) into a godless chaos (Ephes. ii. 12). Of its terrible harvest of licentiousness we have abundant evidence throughout the Epistles (Rom. i. 23–32 ; Ephes. iv. 19 ; Col. iii. 5, 6 ; 1 Thess. v. 4–7). But the most serious and terrible aspect of idolatry, in the Apostle's mind, is its association with the powers of evil. He sees in it nothing less than the systematic worship of the Evil One, and the conflict of Christianity with idolatry is painted in the most vivid colours, as a fight unto death, with God and the "world rulers of the darkness" as protagonists.

Dr. Chase[2] gets over the difficulty by asserting that there is no incompatibility between the attitude of the Epistles towards idolatry and that assumed in the narrative and sermon in the Acts. He maintains that the tone of the narrative is one of absolute contempt and hostility towards all and everything connected with idolatry. In the words of Bishop Lightfoot,[3] "He gazed on the most sublime and beautiful creations of Greek art, the masterpieces of Pheidias and Praxiteles, but he had no eye for their beauty and their sublimity. He passed through the veil of the material and transitory, and, behind the semblance of grace and glory, the true nature of things revealed itself. To him, the chief centre of human culture and intelligence, this

> "Eye of Grace, Mother of Arts
> and Eloquence"

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[1] Chase, *Credibility of the Acts*, p. 211.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 210, 211, 217.
[3] Lightfoot, *Cambridge Sermons*, pp. 302 ff.

appear only as κατείδωλος, overrun with idols, beset with phantoms which mislead and vanities which corrupt."

The one effect of the stateliness and magic beauty of Athenian art was to move his righteous anger, and, according to Dr. Chase's view, there is nothing, either in the narrative or in the sermon, which tends in any way to soften the uncompromising condemnation of idolatry and all its surroundings, found in the Epistles.

The Apostle opens his discourse with a term containing the ideas both of contempt and rebuke, δεισιδαιμονεστέρος, and Dr. Chase maintains that this is the only sense which the literary associations of the word would convey to the Athenians, and the only meaning of the word which would appeal to the philosophic portion of the audience, who despised and ridiculed the popular religion.

His view of the situation would, however, seem to be directly at variance with what we know of the Apostle's method on all occasions of a similar nature. If there is one feature which, more than another, characterizes the Apostle's tone in his Missionary addresses, it is his extreme tact, combined with a manifest anxiety to conciliate his audience.

To translate δεισιδαιμονεστέρος as is done in the Authorised Version, and to give it the shade of meaning demanded by Dr. Chase is to mistake entirely the Apostle's policy under such circumstances; and it is almost unthinkable that he could have applied a term which contained both contempt and insult to an audience from which he was anxious to obtain a patient hearing.

The theory that the word was meant to be of a complimentary character, rather than otherwise, is strengthened by a study of his method of dealing with the philosophic section of his audience, and by the structure of the sermon itself. It is exceedingly instructive

to follow his manner of utilizing the current doctrines of contemporary philosophy in the course of his argument, appealing now to the Stoic and then to the Epicurean, and yet, at the same time, clearly demonstrating the incompleteness and inefficiency of both systems. At Athens he is emphatically "a Greek to the Greeks," "a philosopher to philosophers."

The structure of the sermon also betrays the same tactful policy. When he was addressing a Jewish audience he naturally appealed to the evidence of the Old Testament Scriptures, but in speaking to Greeks he advances no doctrine that is exclusively Jewish, and avoids all topics that might cause offence prematurely. He therefore confines himself at the outset to the fundamental ideas of natural religion, and finds in them a starting-point for his appeal. With his charitable broadmindedness he perceives even in their notorious "religiousness," in spite of its inseparable connection with idolatry, some element of truth, and proceeds to base his argument upon it. In the erection of an altar "TO AN UNKNOWN GOD," he sees evidence that the Athenians, with all their shallowness, their self-satisfaction, and their lack of morality, did recognize that their knowledge was not perfect, their circle of worship not complete, and that there were heights of Divine power which they had not yet fully realized. He then proceeds to proclaim God as the Creator of the world and of man, the Ruler and Governor of both, Who fills the whole universe with His Divine presence, and is immanent in man and nature. In virtue of God's character as Creator and Ruler, He is the great Father of all, and the end of man is to seek and find Him. Having thus laid the foundation he presses the appeal to conscience, by his call to repentance, and by his proclamation of a judgment to come; and it is only when he reaches this stage that he gives utterance

to his distinctive Christian message, and declares the personality of the Judge, Jesus, Whom God raised from the dead. To accept the uncompromising view of idolatry demanded by Dr. Chase is, therefore, to lose sight of the whole tone of the sermon, and to destroy the Apostle's reputation for tact and prudence. That there is a subtle difference between the Apostle's estimate of idolatry in the sermon and in the Epistles respectively seems therefore fairly evident, but it is a difference that is explained, and justified, by the varying circumstances. In the Epistles he is writing to Christian converts, who are supposed to have abandoned idolatry, with all its abominations, but who were in constant danger of relapsing. In the face of this peril there could be no language too strong to express the magnitude of the change they had experienced, no colours too dark and repulsive to picture the horrors of idolatry. At Athens, however, he is face to face with an idolatrous audience, seeking any and every opportunity of finding a way of approach to their hearts, and, with the tact of a true orator and statesman, utilizing their very perversions in order to attain his purpose. Under these circumstances a difference of tone is absolutely imperative, and the very fact that this is found to be the case is a strong argument in favour of the authenticity of the sermon.

(*b*) *Further objections.* Several other objections are put forward, but they cannot, as a whole, be said to carry much conviction. Soltau,[1] for instance, regards the sermon as compiled from different sections of the Epistles, and maintains that it is taken direct from Romans i. 11–14; while Von Soden[1] argues in the contrary direction, and is unable to see in it any trace of the Apostle's hand, and rejects it on that score.

[1] See Knowling, *The Testimony of St. Paul to Christ*, p. 389.

Davidson[1] subjects the sermon to a detailed criticism, and maintains that it is highly artificial in its structure, its leading object being to put the contrast between Christianity and heathenism in its strongest light, with a view of showing the immense superiority of the former, even in the centre of heathen culture. He considers the transition to the subject of the Resurrection to be too abrupt to be Pauline, and to be inconsistent with the wise adaptation which the Apostle uniformly practised. He sees also in the narrative a general resemblance to the story of St. Stephen, which is apt to gender suspicion of its historicity. His final conclusion would, however, seem to be in favour of the idea that it is Pauline to a large extent, and he acknowledges that it is in harmony with the first Epistle to the Thessalonians. Objection is also taken by some critics to the inscription, ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ, on the ground that no such inscription was likely to be found in Athens, and that the plural ἀγνώστοις θεοῖς is much more in consonance with Athenian polytheism. The evidence of Pausanias and of Philostratus, in their description of the same city, would seem to settle the point decisively in favour of the Pauline form. The criticism which is based on the peculiar vocabulary of the sermon, which contains no less than twenty-six words which do not occur elsewhere in the Lucan writings, finds its reply in the unique character of the address; it is the only specimen we possess of a Pauline utterance to a cultured Greek audience.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF THE AUTHENTICITY.—The general chorus of criticism is overwhelmingly in favour of the authenticity of both narrative and sermon.

[1] Davidson, *Intro. to the New Test.*, vol. ii. p. 113.

1. *Arguments based on the narrative.* The narrative bears on its surface the impress of truth, and the following points,[1] which seem to testify to the authenticity of the record, deserve consideration.

(*a*) Very little stress is laid on the Apostle's intercourse with the Jews in Athens, which is contrary to the usual custom in those portions of the Acts where his primary visits to cities are recorded.

(*b*) The visit to Athens is ascribed to an accident, and not to a preconceived plan. This can only be a record of fact, because it is not likely that a second-century authority would deliberately describe the Apostle as leaving the intellectual centre of the world outside his original plan of operations.

(*c*) The whole tone of restraint in the narrative argues strongly for its truth and authenticity. The temptation to embellish the incident with all the wealth of colour at his command would be irresistible to a later writer. St. Paul in Athens, the great Apostle in the artistic and literary capital of the world, Christianity face to face with Greek religion in their very citadel! What an opportunity for the word-painter! What a temptation to portray the triumph of Christianity, and the decisive rout of the philosophers! And what do we find? A sober, restrained narrative, marked by a decided sadness of tone, and concluding with a confession of comparative, if not absolute, failure.

2. *Arguments based on the sermon.* First and foremost must be reckoned *the points of contact with Pauline writings.*

(*a*) *With the Epistles to the Thessalonians.* The coincidences are most marked in the case of the First Epistle, to which the sermon approaches nearest in point of time. In the sermon at Athens, as well as in his

[1] See McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 257 ff.

preaching to the Thessalonians, he proclaimed the living and true God, Who would judge the world by Him Whom He had raised from the dead.

The stress laid on the "judgment" in the sermon is very manifest, and the same subject seems to have formed the main point of his preaching at Thessalonica, and is the principal topic discussed in the Epistles (cf. 1 Thess. v. 2, 4; and 2 Thess. i. 10, ii. 2).

(*b*) *With the Epistle to the Romans.* St. Paul's view of God's attitude towards the heathen world expressed in Acts xvii. 30, "The times of ignorance therefore God overlooked," may be compared with Rom. iii. 25, "Because of the passing over of the sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of God," and also with Rom. xi. 32, "For God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that He might have mercy upon all," and with Rom. xvi. 25, "According to the revelation of the mystery which hath been kept in silence through times eternal, but now is manifested."

With St. Paul's teaching on the providence and the immanence of God in Acts xvii. 26–28, may be compared Rom. xi. 36, "For of Him, and through Him, and unto Him, are all things."

(*c*) *With the Epistle to the Galatians.* The "now" of Acts xvii. 30 finds its parallel in Gal. iv. 4, "But when the fulness of time came." Cf. also Gal. iii. 22 with Rom. xi. 32, quoted above, "The Scripture hath shut up all things under sin, that the promise by faith in Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe."

(*d*) *With the Epistle to the Ephesians.* With Acts xvii. 30, cf. Ephes. iii. 4, 5, "The mystery of Christ, which in other generations was not made known unto the sons of men, but now hath been revealed." Also Ephes. i. 9, "Having made known unto us the mystery of His will, according to His good pleasure," and Ephes. iii. 9,

"The mystery which from all ages hath been hid in God."

The same thought is also found in Ephes. iv. 18, "Alienated from the life of God because of the *ignorance* that is in them." Again, with Acts xvii. 26, 27, 28, we may compare Ephes. iv. 6, "One God and Father of all, Who is over all, and through all, and in all," and Ephes. iii. 15, "From Whom every family in heaven and on earth is named." The immanence and transcendence of God are taught in Ephes. i. 22, "And God gave Him to be the head of all things—the fulness of Him that filleth all in all," and in Ephes. iv. 10, "That He might fill all things."

(*e*) *With the Epistle to the Colossians.* The doctrine of the immanence of God, which is only touched upon in the sermon, in Acts xvii. 27, 28, is developed in this Epistle. Cf. Col. i. 15 f., where the subject receives the most adequate treatment at the hands of the Apostle. Also with Acts xvii. 30, cf. Col. i. 26, "The mystery which hath been hid from all ages and generations, but *now* hath it been manifested."

The question of the authenticity of the sermon may be summed up in the following quotations from authorities of the first rank—

1. From Sabatier: "The sermon is absolutely unique, and in the whole of Pauline literature there is nothing to compare with it. It is so exquisite in its rhetorical style, and so admirable in the profundity of its thought, that one can scarcely refuse to see the Master's touch." [1]

2. From Curtius (*Paulus en Athen*): "He who refuses to accept the historical value of the narrative, tears one of the weightiest pages out of the history of humanity."

THE CATHOLICITY OF ST. PAUL.—In the sermon at Antioch in Pisidia the Apostle argues against the

[1] Sabatier, *St. Paul*, p. 104.

exclusiveness of the Jew, which was based on religious privilege. At Athens he pours contempt upon the exclusiveness of the Athenians, who arrogated to themselves superiority over the rest of Greece, as being born of the very soil, *αὐτόχθονες*, and over all the other races of mankind, whom they designated barbarians. As against the Jews he proclaims that "*every one that believeth* is justified" (Acts xiii. 39), while Athenian pride is rebuked in the statement that "God made *of one* every nation of men" (Acts xvii. 26).

DR. HORT ON THE SERMON.—"The supreme value of the sermon," according to Dr. Hort, whose words are well worth quoting *in extenso*, "consists in its being the solemn unfolding of the Gospel, as the sanction and fulfilment of knowledge, in the metropolis of the human search for truth. On Jewish soil, the function of knowledge under the Gospel could hardly be brought to maturity, and this was one of the first tasks committed to St. Paul, himself Jew, Greek, and Roman, at once. At Athens, as elsewhere in the Greek world, the professed study of truth had withered into the idlest of all imaginable follies. The words 'to the unknown God' formed a fitting text for the discourse in which the Apostle of Christ expounded the faith that was both old and new. They were the confession at once of a bastard philosophy and a bastard religion. The restless fear of unseen powers, which was characteristic of all idolatry in its decay, reached its highest point in this superfluity of irrational awe. The essence of what we call superstition, St. Paul marked by two words of his own, as reverence unaccompanied by knowledge: 'What ye with *ignorance revere*—as not knowing it, revere, that I declare to you.'

"A religion which had once possessed some power for good had come to these dregs, because it was incapable of any communion with knowledge. It made no pretence

to rest on truth. So also the pursuit and hope of knowledge had wasted to a phantom, because it could not be at once comprehensive and consistent, unless God had a place in it, and the hereditary religion found no footing for a Divine knowledge, to be the crown of all their knowledge. If later speculation, by stretching forth an imagination where knowledge failed, had created for itself a cloudy monotheism, which imparted some coherence to the contemplation of nature, its hold on the nobler world of man was feeble and incoherent; and in the face of his sin, and his death, it had nothing to say. St. Paul encountered the despair of knowledge, and the abandonment to a reckless and baseless religion, by declaring the highest object of knowledge, and the sole entirely worthy object of devotion—both in one."[1]

THE SEQUEL TO THE SERMON.—When the Apostle was proceeding to deliver the distinctive Christian message of his discourse, and was heralding a day of judgment "by Him Whom God had raised from the dead," he was met with howls of derision on the part of a considerable portion of the audience, which had the effect of bringing his sermon to an immediate termination. Some of his hearers, however, expressed a desire to hear him again; but to the majority of the court the mention of the Resurrection was a proof of mental delusion. The meeting of the Areopagus was therefore adjourned, and the Apostle allowed to depart. Thus at Athens, as in many another city, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, with its message of grace and peace, and its solemn warnings of a judgment to come, was dismissed with a laugh.

The results of the sermon, from the point of Christian expansion, were slight, and comparatively unimportant. A few converts were gained, and among them one man of note, Dionysius the Areopagite, concerning whom later

[1] Hort, *Hulsean Lectures* p. 26 ff.

tradition has much to say, but little for which there is any foundation in fact. According to Eusebius,[1] he eventually became Bishop of Athens; while another Church historian, Nicephorus,[2] relates that his episcopate was brought to a close by a martyr's death, at Athens, in the reign of Domitian. A third account (Mart., *Rom.*), manifestly of a legendary character, describes him as being sent from Rome to Paris by Clement I., about the year 95, where he was beheaded on Montmartre—a story which explains his adoption as St. Denys, the patron saint of France. A series of mystical theological writings of fifth-century origin were circulated in his name, and exercised great influence in the Church of the Middle Ages.

In addition to Dionysius the Areopagite, a lady, Damaris by name, is also found among the followers of the Apostle.

The comparative failure of St. Paul's mission at Athens seems to have had considerable effect upon his style of preaching in the future. He had tried the "wisdom of the world" and had found it wanting. Never afterwards did he make use of philosophic dialectic in his presentation of the Gospel message Evidence of this change is scattered throughout the Epistles to the Corinthians, and the criticisms of his style and oratory, quoted in these letters, are probably due to this cause.[3]

[1] Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii. 4.
[2] Nicephorus, *H. E.*, iii. 11.
[3] See Introduction, p. 13.

BOOK II

ST. PAUL'S ADDRESSES TO CHRISTIAN ASSEMBLIES

INTRODUCTORY

OUR attention has hitherto been confined to those utterances of St. Paul which were of a purely Missionary character, delivered to non-Christian audiences, composed in the one case of Jews and "God-fearing" Gentiles, and in the other of heathen pure and simple, the unlettered Anatolian crowd at Lystra, as well as the cultured Greeks of Athens. In this section we reach another stage in the development of Paulinism, and find ourselves on ground which the Epistles have made comparatively familiar to us. The sermons of the first period are perhaps more valuable, and more interesting, than those of the second, because we have nothing that quite corresponds with them in Pauline literature. The picture of St. Paul the Missionary would, however, have been incomplete and unsatisfactory if the historian had remained content with giving us his addresses to heathen only, and had not proceeded to give us a presentation of him, no longer as a stranger among strangers, but as a Christian pastor among his own flock, as an Apostle in close intercourse with his fellow-Apostles, and as a stern and uncompromising defender of the truth of Christ, and of loyalty to the Church which

he valued more than life itself. Our very legitimate desires in this direction receive ample satisfaction in this section, which is composed of two addresses, the one preserved by the Apostle himself in his Epistle to the Galatians, and the other by St. Luke in the Acts.

THE ADDRESS AT ANTIOCH IN SYRIA.—This address was delivered during that period of "storm and stress" provoked by the conflict with the Judaizers, a conflict which reached its climax in the very Epistle in which this utterance is quoted. In it the Apostle appears in a new and comparatively unfamiliar light. There is a complete absence of that tactful and conciliatory policy which we have learnt to look for in his former discourses, and for this change of method there is the very best of reasons. The vital interests of the Gospel are here at stake, and, because of this, the spirit of compromise has no place in the discussion. The Apostle now exhibits an unflinching courage which dares, in the face of the Church, to rebuke an Apostle, and he the chief of Apostles. The whole incident reveals such transcendent simplicity and honesty of purpose on the part of the Apostle, as cannot fail to command our admiration and respect.

THE ADDRESS TO THE ELDERS OF EPHESUS AT MILETUS.—The second address dealt with in this section supplies us with an apt illustration of the Apostle's "care of all the Churches," which, according to his own testimony, occupied such a large portion of his time, and oftentimes weighed so heavily upon him. It possesses unusual interest, as it forms the only specimen we possess of a Pauline sermon addressed to a Church of his own begetting—a Church which from his own lips had been privileged to receive the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and had been shepherded by him for a considerable period.

We possess Pauline *letters* addressed to communities

which owed to him their knowledge of Christianity, such as the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, and Philippians; but of spoken utterances, the sermon to the Elders of the Church of Ephesus only has been preserved. It stands midway between the Missionary sermons of the first period and the apologetic speeches of the long trial process. It also forms the natural transition from the second period of St. Paul's Christian course—the period of the Judaistic controversy, which evoked the Epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans—to the third, the period of imprisonment, with its characteristic letters to the Philippians, Ephesians, and Colossians. The Judaistic controversy had now abated its force, and had spent its fury, and a new crisis was in process of development, of which we hear only a faint murmur in this address. Fresh dangers were approaching, coming this time from the midst of the Gentile Christians, of which we shall have more to say when the address is dealt with in detail.

CHAPTER I

THE ADDRESS AT ANTIOCH IN SYRIA (Gal. ii. 11–21)

11 But when Cephas came to Antioch, I resisted him to the
12 face, because he stood condemned. For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles: but when they came, he drew back and separated himself, fearing
13 them that were of the circumcision. And the rest of the Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that even
14 Barnabas was carried away with their dissimulation. But when I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Cephas before them all—

If thou, being a Jew, livest as do the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, how compellest thou the Gentiles to live
15 as do the Jews? We being Jews by nature, and not
16 sinners of the Gentiles, yet knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, save through faith in Jesus Christ, even we believed on Christ Jesus, that we might be justified by faith in Christ, and not by the works of the law: because by the works of the law shall
17 no flesh be justified. But if, while we sought to be justified in Christ, we ourselves also were found sinners,
18 is Christ a minister of sin? God forbid. For if I build up again those things which I destroyed, I prove myself
19 a transgressor. For I through the law died unto the
20 law, that I might live unto God. I have been crucified with Christ; yet I live; and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me: and that life which I now live in the flesh I live in faith, the faith which is in the Son of God, who
21 loved me, and gave himself up for me. I do not make void the grace of God: for if righteousness is through the law, then Christ died for nought.

ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL AT ANTIOCH.—The incident which provoked this speech of St. Paul's furnishes, as far as we have any record, the one solitary instance of any strong difference of opinion between the two great Apostles, and it closed, apparently, with an acknowledgment on the part of St. Peter that he had been mistaken in his conduct, and that the protest of the Apostle of the Gentiles was fully justified. On all other occasions, as we gather from the very definite evidence offered in the Epistle to the Galatians, their intercourse was of a perfectly friendly and harmonious character. It was after the second visit to Jerusalem, described in Gal. ii. 1–10, which we venture to identify with the second visit mentioned in Acts xi. 30, that the events took place which called forth the emphatic rebuke from St. Paul, which forms the main substance of the address under notice. Paul and Barnabas had returned to Antioch, having fulfilled the object of their mission to Jerusalem, which consisted in the bearing of alms from the Christians of Antioch to the poorer Church in the Holy City. They were followed at no great distance of time by St. Peter, who had been sent by the authorities at Jerusalem to inspect and report upon the condition of the Church in the Syrian capital. It was during this visit to Antioch that he was guilty of conduct which, to St. Paul, seemed to be absolutely inconsistent with his previous behaviour, and to be likely to endanger the whole Christian position in that city.

Furthermore, it stultified St. Peter's own action in the well-known incident of the mission to Cornelius, while its material outcome was to make Judaism the one and only avenue to the privileges of the Gospel of Christ. On his first arrival in the city he had moved freely, and without any compunction, among the Gentile Christians of Antioch, living and eating with them, and exhibiting

a complete disregard of anything approaching Jewish exclusiveness; but when a deputation of Jewish Christians, sent by St. James, arrived from Jerusalem, he changed his tactics, in deference, probably, to the wishes of the members of the deputation, and withdrew from intimate intercourse with the Gentile section of the Church. This course of conduct naturally influenced the Judaic Christians of Antioch, who promptly followed the example of the Apostle, and Barnabas even showed a tendency in the same direction.

To St. Paul, with his wide conception of the kingdom of Christ, and its illimitable possibilities in the Gentile world, this policy was positively suicidal, and so serious appeared the situation, and so pregnant with danger and disloyalty to the Church, that he had no hesitation in adopting the most drastic measures. In the presence of the whole Church at Antioch he administered to St. Peter a most severe and plainspoken rebuke. This uncompromising action on his part seems to have met with complete success, and to have had the result of convincing St. Peter of the falsity of his position, and of the injury which his course of conduct was likely to inflict upon the cause of Christ and His Church. The visit of the Judaic-Christian deputation, which was the prime cause of St. Peter's change of policy, is, according to Prof. Ramsay, referred to in Acts xv. 1, "Certain men came down from Judæa and taught the brethren, saying, Except ye be circumcised after the custom of Moses, ye cannot be saved,"[1] and again in Acts xv. 24, "We have heard that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls." If the correctness of this reference be accepted, the incident at Antioch must have taken place *before* and not *after* the Apostolic Council in Jerusalem.

[1] Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 158.

When did the Incident at Antioch take Place?—In the previous paragraph it has been assumed that St. Peter's visit to Antioch took place before and not after the Apostolic Council, described in Acts xv., but as this is a point upon which there exists a considerable difference of opinion, our assumption will demand further justification.

The sequence of events which is almost universally adopted, and which has the support of such names as Lightfoot, Conybeare and Howson, Bruce, Findlay, Chase, Harnack, and Phleiderer, identifies the journey mentioned in Gal. ii. 1–10 with that recorded in Acts xv., and therefore with the occasion of the Council in Jerusalem. According to this view, the dispute at Antioch occurred soon after Paul and Barnabas had returned to that city, on the conclusion of the proceedings of the Council. The present writer is, however, of opinion that this view of the case is open to almost insuperable objections, and on this point is content to follow the guidance of Prof. Ramsay.[1] The authorities quoted above, in almost every instance, assume that the Galatians to whom the Epistle is addressed, were the "North Galatians" who were evangelized by St. Paul during the Second Missionary Journey, and after he had, according to the narrative in the Acts, paid three separate visits to Jerusalem (Acts ix. 26, xi. 30, and xv. 3). Now the whole point of the Apostle's arguments in the first two chapters of the Epistle to the Galatians is to prove that the Gospel that he preached is his own, received by direct revelation from Christ Himself, and owing nothing to the authority and direction of the other Apostles. In order to make this all the more definite, he asserts that during the whole period of his Christian career, previous to his mission to the Galatians,

[1] Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 158–166.

he had had personal intercourse with the other Apostles on two occasions only, and these during two short visits to Jerusalem. The first of them took place three years after his conversion, and lasted for fifteen days; the second, the length of which is not stated, followed after a space of eleven or fourteen years, according as the fourteen years of Gal. ii. 1 are dated from his previous visit or from his conversion. Now the theory generally advocated requires us to believe that the Apostle, while resting the proof of his own independence, and that of his Gospel, on the paucity of his visits to Jerusalem, and on the unimportant character of his intercourse with the Apostles, deliberately omits all mention of one visit, and this in the face of his own positive declaration in Gal. i. 20, "Now touching the things which I write unto you, behold, I lie not."

Again, on this theory St. Peter's conduct is incomprehensible, and that of St. Barnabas hardly less so. A question of the very highest importance has been considered by the supreme ecclesiastical authorities gathered in solemn conclave in Jerusalem, St. Peter himself has spoken strongly in favour of a particular and definite decision of the question at issue; that solution has been unanimously accepted by the Council, and yet, within a few weeks, St. Peter comes down to Antioch, and is found to conduct himself in a manner which is not only directly contrary to his own deliberate opinion stated in the Council, but is also a distinct contravention of the official decree of that body. It is argued[1] that this vacillation and uncertainty of purpose is exactly what we should expect from our previous knowledge of St. Peter's character. As against this, we must bear in mind the wonderful change produced in the Apostle by the fact of the Resurrection of Christ, and by the gift of

[1] Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 128.

the Holy Spirit, as well as the strength of his courage and consistency displayed on other occasions described in the Acts, all of which render his conduct in this particular case utterly inexplicable, and quite unworthy of one occupying his exalted position. Such conduct as we find described here is intelligible only if the question remained as yet undecided by any ecclesiastical authority, but to attribute such a policy to St. Peter, in the very teeth of his own publicly stated opinion, and of the decisive enactment of the Church, makes a very heavy demand upon our powers of belief, and cannot but diminish the respect we owe to "the Prince of the Apostles." What has been said of St. Peter applies equally, if not more so, to St. Barnabas. He had been actually appointed by the Gentile Christians of Antioch to represent their views before the authorities at Jerusalem, and had returned to Antioch with a commission from the Council to deliver its official decision to the Church in that city. Now in that document the claims of the Antiochene Gentile Christians are fully conceded, and yet we are told that, after a very short interval of time, he is found acting in such a way as to prove that he was still in considerable doubt as to the true solution of the difficulty. A theory which postulates such inconsistency and vacillation of purpose, and which ascribes such an absolute lack of moral courage to apostolic men like St. Peter and St. Barnabas, calls for all but incontrovertible proof before it can be accepted.

But quite apart from difficulties connected with the department of morals, there are serious discrepancies between the two narratives as given in Acts xv. and Gal. ii. respectively, which render their identification an exceedingly difficult problem, as *e.g.*—

(*a*) *The motive of the visit.* In Acts. xv. 2, Paul and

Barnabas are "appointed by the brethren," whereas in Gal. ii. 2, the visit is the result of direct revelation.

(*b*) *The incidents of the visit.* In Acts xv. the whole question of Gentile Christianity is discussed *openly* in a Church Council composed of Apostles and Elders, and a satisfactory solution is arrived at; but in Gal. ii. 1–10, St. Paul describes himself as having *private* interviews with the Apostles, at which only the character of his Gospel and his own position were the subjects of discussion.

(*c*) *The results of the visit.* In Acts xv. 23 the Council comes to a definite conclusion, and St. Paul, with Barnabas, Judas, and Silas, is entrusted with the document containing the Council's decision. According to Gal. ii. 9, 10, however, he received no advice or instruction, beyond an acknowledgment of his special sphere of labour, and a suggestion that he "should remember the poor."

Bishop Lightfoot[1] allows the existence of discrepancies, and devotes several pages of his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, in the form of a special note, to explaining them. In that note they are attributed, partly to the difference in the "point of view" of the two writers, and partly to the fact that one narrative, in a large measure, supplements the other.

Thus (*a*) the private conferences of Gal. ii. were necessitated by such questions as the circumcision of Titus, and were *in addition* to the public Council of the Church.

(*b*) The absolute omission of all mention of the second visit to Jerusalem by the Apostle in the letter was due to special circumstances connected with that period. It took place soon after the persecution of the Church by Herod, who had put St. James the elder to death, and from whose murderous hands St. Peter had been miraculously delivered. It is probable, therefore, that

[1] Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 125 ff.

the Apostles had all retired from Jerusalem, and that Paul and Barnabas had no intercourse with any of them on that occasion. Under these circumstances the mention of the visit was not relevant to the Apostle's argument in the Epistle, and the omission is thus satisfactorily explained.

The retirement of the Apostles from Jerusalem at this juncture is, however, only the merest conjecture on the part of Bishop Lightfoot, and the conduct of the Apostles during, and after, the persecution which resulted in the murder of St. Stephen, when they remained in Jerusalem and bravely faced the storm, would seem to point in the opposite direction, and would lead us to infer that the effect of persecution would be to keep them at the post of danger, and not to cause them to abandon it.

(*c*) Why is there no mention of the decree of the Council in Gal. ii.?

The decree was addressed to the Gentile brethren in "Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia," *i.e.* to the Churches more directly in communication with Palestine, and was not meant to be permanent or universal, and was not, therefore, taken notice of by other communities, more distant from Judæa, and of later origin, such as the Churches of North Galatia, to which this letter is assumed to have been addressed. One of the provisions of the decree is entirely ignored by the Apostle himself in 1 Cor. viii. 8, where the eating of meat offered to idols, strictly prohibited by it, is regarded by him as a matter of absolute indifference. If the "South Galatian" theory be accepted, this view is no longer tenable, as we are told expressly in Acts xvi. 4, that Paul and Silas went through the cities of Southern Galatia "delivering them the decrees for to keep, which had been ordained of the Apostles and the Elders in Jerusalem."

The theory advocated here, which originated with

Prof. Ramsay, that the visit in Gal. ii. 1–10 coincides with St. Paul's second visit to Jerusalem, and that the incident at Antioch was therefore previous to the Apostolic Council, would seem to offer a more satisfactory solution of the problem. If we accept this view, the fourteen years of Gal. ii. 1 would be calculated from the conversion, which is the one critical epoch in his career that the Apostle invariably emphasizes, and not from his previous visit. The silence of St. Luke in the Acts as to any incidents connected with this visit, beyond the mere mention of it, is exactly what we should expect in the description of a visit, in the course of which nothing of a momentous character took place, except a few private interviews with St. Peter and the other Apostles. The reference in Gal. ii. 10, "only they would that we should remember the poor, which very thing I was zealous to do," fits in admirably with the special object of the Apostle's mission at this period, which was to bring alms from the Christians in Antioch to the poor in Jerusalem. Mr. Turner[1] (and also, apparently, Zahn), while identifying the second visit in the Galatians with the third in the Acts, is of opinion that a strict sequence of events is not necessarily maintained in the narrative in Galatians, and that it is quite possible that the incident which evoked St. Paul's rebuke took place before the visit of Gal. ii. 1–10, and therefore before, and not after, the Apostolic Council.

One considerable difficulty with regard to Prof. Ramsay's theory remains to be noticed. The tone of the narrative seems to imply that when the incident at Antioch took place he had been already engaged, and that to a considerable extent, in evangelistic work, and his confidence in his own special mission to the Gentiles seems to be more highly developed than we should gather from the events of the First Missionary

[1] See art. "Chronology" in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*.

Journey, to which, according to this view, his labours had up to this point been limited.

Taking all the arguments into consideration, the balance is on the whole decidedly in favour of the view advocated in these pages, that the second visit in the Acts corresponds with the second visit in Galatians, and that the encounter between the two Apostles took place before the Apostolic Council. If we accept Prof. Ramsay's opinion[1] that the Epistle itself was written from Antioch in the year 53, after the close of the Second Missionary Journey, it strengthens the form of the argument which the Apostle bases on the incident. In effect the Apostle would say, "Here is an incident which happened in the very city in which I am residing now, authenticated by the whole body of the Church which is associated with me in sending this letter (Gal. i. 2, 'All the brethren which are with me'), and therefore unimpeachable."

How much of Galatians ii. 14–21 is Address, and how much Comment?—Another difficulty calls for a solution before we proceed to discuss the address itself, viz. how much of Gal. ii. 14–21 consists of the Apostle's actual speech, and how much is simply his comment upon the speech? Bishop Lightfoot[2] is of opinion that the narrative imperceptibly glides into comment, and that, before the end of the paragraph is reached, the Apostle has drifted away from his audience at Antioch, and is more immediately concerned with the Judaizers in the Galatian Churches. He thinks, however, that the use of the word ἁμαρτωλοί (sinners), in vv. 15 and 17, denotes that, in these verses, we still have the words of the original discourse, as this particular term could only be used by a Jew speaking to Jews. After that point

[1] Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on the Galatians*, pp. 241, 242.

[2] Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 113 ff.

speech and comment are so intermingled that it becomes impossible to disentangle them. He quotes St. John i. 15–28, and Acts i. 16–21, as instances of similar phenomena, where, in the first paragraph, the teaching of the Baptist loses itself in the thought of the Evangelist, and, in the second, St. Peter's utterance is interwoven with the after explanations of the historian. Profs. Findlay[1] and Bruce[2] maintain, on the other hand, that the speech covers the whole paragraph; and on this assumption the latter bases his argument against the theory of "the development of Paulinism" advocated by M. Sabatier. Prof. Bruce affirms that, in this speech, which contains ideas held by the Apostle as early as the year 49, we have "not the supposed primitive Paulinism of a yet undeveloped Christian consciousness, but the fully-formulated Paulinism of the controversial letters, which contain nothing clearer, nothing more definite, than is to be found in this remarkable utterance."

The tone of the concluding part of the paragraph argues strongly against this view. It becomes demonstrably impersonal towards the close, and is much more general in its application than is likely to have been the case in an address referring to a single definite incident, and is much more in accord with the general contents of the Epistle than with the discussion of a question of mere personal interest. In this case, Prof. Bruce's argument as against M. Sabatier loses much of its force, because those portions of the context on which he lays the greatest emphasis as exhibiting signs of a fully-developed Paulinism belong, not to the speech, but to the letter, written, at the very earliest, many years afterwards.

[1] Findlay, *Galatians* (Exp. Bible), p. 138.
[2] Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, p. 12.

The Address (Gal. ii. 14–21).

14 The address opens with a spirited and emphatic protest against St. Peter's conduct as being absolutely inconsistent with his declared conviction, and with the policy already adopted by him under similar conditions. "By your mission to Cornelius, and your subsequent defence of that mission, and by your manner of life here in Antioch previous to the arrival of the Judaizers from Jerusalem, you have acknowledged that it is not essential even for a Jewish Christian to follow Jewish customs strictly, and yet, by your present behaviour, you are actually compelling the Gentile Christians to 'Judaize.' The only logical conclusion that can be drawn from the abrupt change in your manner of life is that the adoption of Jewish legalism is the one and only condition on which the unity of the Christian Church in Antioch can be maintained. You are the Apostle, the very bond of union between Christians, whether Jew or Gentile, and yet you make intercourse between the two sections impossible for the latter, save at the expense of subjecting themselves to the ordinances of strict Judaism."

15 "Your inconsistency is still more glaring when we remember our own experience, yours and mine, how that we—Jews by birth and training, heirs to all the privileges
16 of the chosen people, and *not sinners of the Gentiles*, as we contemptuously described them—were brought to learn that in the law, with all its observances, there was no power to save, and that the one condition of salvation was faith in Christ Jesus. How much less virtue and necessity must there be in it for these Gentiles, who have no such associations as we had, *seeing that by the works*
17 *of the law shall no flesh be justified?* Was, then, this action of ours in renouncing legal righteousness, and

placing ourselves on the level of the Gentiles, since we based our salvation on Christ only, sinful in its nature?
18 Did it render Christ Himself a minister of sin? Not in the least. The sinfulness consists, not in the renunciation of Judaic legalism as a source of righteousness, but in what you are doing now, when you re-establish what you have already, in your mind and conscience, expressly abandoned. The sin is in those who turn back to the ordinances of the law after they have found and known Christ."

In the following verses the application of the context becomes less definite in its tone, and the address itself probably comes to an end at v. 18.

The Apostle continues the subject because of its close connection with the main purport of the Epistle, and because it forms an admirable introduction to the remaining chapters of it. Turning away from St. Peter, and from the audience at Antioch, and with his attention directed towards the Galatian Churches, he proceeds to express his own joyous sense of deliverance from the
19 shackles of law. "For it is of the very nature of law (*νόμος*, law, generally, and not *ὁ νόμος*, the Jewish law, specifically) to create sin and a yearning for deliverance, for which it provides no satisfaction, so that the law itself drives the sinner to seek for it where alone it may be found, viz. in Christ. Therefore law carried in itself the very elements of its own death. It was transitory, and its function was to prepare the way for a new and higher order of righteousness now realized in Christ
20 Jesus. *Therefore through law I died to law.* But the death was not confined to the region of law; I died to sin at the same time, because I was crucified with Christ, and therefore both law and sin have lost their hold upon me. I died with Christ unto sin, and through His power and grace I was raised up again to a new life, a life that

is 'so merged in Christ that I can hardly be said to live at all, but Christ liveth in me. And the new life in Christ is not lived in the sphere of legal and carnal ordinances (ἐν σαρκί), but in the region of faith; faith is the source of it, and faith is the support of it, faith in the *Son of God Who loved me and gave Himself for me*.'[1]
21 How can I then set aside and despise the loving-kindness of God Who called me, or His grace which saved me and made me an heir in hope of life eternal, and return to the beggarly elements of law and ritual? To do this is to make the death of Christ void and of none effect, to reject the Divine Love and Infinite Sacrifice which were manifested when Christ died upon the Cross."

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ADDRESS.—In the course of a few short verses the Apostle sets forth the whole programme of his theology, and we find embodied in it what Bengel has well called the *summa ac medulla Christianismi*—the very pith and marrow of the Christian faith. Not only have we an introduction to, and a recapitulation of, the contents of this particular Epistle, but we have a brief abstract of all that is contained in the great central group of Epistles.[2] The characteristic Pauline words, *law*, *sin*, *grace*, are all found here, as well as all the principal ideas of his doctrinal system.

In vv. 16–19, with their declaration of the fact that Jew and Gentile alike have failed to find justification and righteousness, we have a brief epitome of the earlier chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. The insistence on the power of grace (Gal. ii. 21) is also one of the most prominent features of the Pauline system, and is scattered broadcast throughout the whole of Pauline literature, where the word itself is found *twice* as often as in the rest of the New Testament.[3]

[1] Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 119. [2] Sabatier, *St. Paul*, p. 133.
[3] Findlay, *Galatians*, p. 148.

The conception of the nature and function of law, and its powerlessness to save (Gal. ii. 16) is further developed in the Epistle to the Romans. The characteristic doctrine of "Justification by faith," and the emphasis laid on "the death of Christ" (Gal. ii. 20), are the very foundation-stones of his theological structure; while the identification of the Christian with Christ (Gal. ii. 20) in his death, and his consequent partaking in the risen life of Christ, has its parallels in all the Epistles (cf. esp. Phil. i. 21).

The personal references in the address are also full of interest.[1] It is the story of his own life, and of his own experiences that he is relating; it is his own conversion and the beginning of his own new life that give such point to his arguments. The pregnant phrase, "I through law died to law," thus finds its interpretation in his own experience. It was in his zeal for the law that he had undertaken the journey to Damascus in order to destroy the followers of One Who had suffered death as the penalty of law, and Who still continued to outrage the law. It was then that the vision intervened, and He Who was supposed to have suffered the last penalty of the law is found to be a living and Divine reality. Christ had therefore done away with the law; it was now satisfied, and it had no longer any effect upon Him. It had done its worst, and had now ceased to exist for Him. His servant, becoming identified with Him by faith, was "crucified with Him," and he therefore, like his Master, had died to the law. Law no longer had any meaning for him, and he entered a new life in Christ, so that anything in the nature of a return to the region of law was unnatural and unthinkable.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ADDRESS.—(*a*) *Importance of the address in relation to Pauline literature.*

[1] Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on the Galatians*, p. 331 ff.

The address is of considerable interest, because it fills a gap which would otherwise have remained empty. We have, on the one hand, the sermons of the First Missionary Period, which exhibit a striking harmony with the earlier group of Epistles addressed to the Church at Thessalonica. On the other hand, the address to the Elders of the Church of Ephesus fits in admirably with the Epistles to the Churches of Asia, those of Ephesus and Colossæ, and, in its picture of the organization of the Church and of the gradual growth of heresy, foreshadows the Pastoral Epistles. If, however, this address had not been preserved, we should have had no spoken utterance of the Apostle bearing a similar relationship to the four great Epistles of the second group, viz. those addressed to the Churches of Corinth, Rome, and Galatia. Here, however, embedded in the very heart of one of the Epistles themselves, is an address which reveals not only the temper and difficulties of that particular period, but also exhibits some of the very finest traits in the Apostle's character.

(*b*) *The importance of the address in the domain of New Testament criticism.* In the department of New Testament criticism the incident and the speech which it evoked are important because of their close connection with the notorious Tübingen theory, which, to a large extent, was based upon them. According to this theory, of which Baur was the chief exponent, the controversy at Antioch was the critical epoch in the creation of that gulf which ultimately divided the Christian Church into two antagonistic bodies: one acknowledging the leadership of St. Peter, with whom were associated St. James and St. John, while the other was Pauline in its character, and essentially Gentile in its sympathies.

The Petrine section is supposed to be represented by the Gnostic-Ebionite sects of the second century, with

their pseudo-Clementine literature, and the followers of St. Paul are ranged under the banner of Marcion. This antagonism and division are maintained to have continued well into the third century, when the two parties were fused into the unity of the Catholic Church. To meet the exigencies of this theory it was necessary that the Acts should be relegated to the last half of the second century, when it was specially composed to prove that no such antagonism had existed between the two representative Apostles, but that, on the contrary, they worked together on lines of the most perfect harmony and concord—a condition of affairs which, according to Baur, is altogether irreconcilable with the contents of the Pauline Epistles. All canonical documents which clashed with this theory were ignominiously rejected, and Pauline literature was limited to the great central group of Epistles, those to the Corinthians, Romans, and Galatians. The essential weakness of this theory is completely exposed by Bishop Lightfoot in his dissertation on "St. Paul and the Three" in his *Commentary on the Galatians*, and it only remains to add that while New Testament literature reveals that there were, in various parts of the Christian Church, sections of Christians which manifested decided hostility towards St. Paul, and arrogated to themselves the leadership of St. Peter or St. James, this antagonism did not prevail for any long-continued period, and received no encouragement from the Apostles themselves. The effusions contained in the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions, on the one hand, and in the writings of Marcion, on the other, far from representing the views of any considerable bodies within the Catholic Church itself, proceed from heretical sects whose tenets were sternly condemned by the Church as a whole. If we accept the view that the incident took place before the Apostolic Council, we

have in the report of the proceedings of that body the strongest evidence that, by that time, all differences between the Apostles on this very point had been composed, and that they are in perfect accord as to the policy to be pursued. St. Peter and St. Paul, at a later period, probably worked side by side in Rome, representing, it may be, different sections of the Church in the Imperial City—the one presiding over the Jewish, and the other over the Gentile section, and that without any trace of rivalry or antagonism. St. Peter's affectionate reference to his brother Apostle in 2 St. Pet. iii. 15 is a proof of the kindly relationship that existed between them, and even though the Petrine authorship of that letter be rejected, the reference goes far to prove what a writer of that period thought of the character of the feelings that governed the two great Apostles.

CHAPTER II

THE ADDRESS TO THE ELDERS OF THE CHURCH OF EPHESUS AT MILETUS (Acts xx. 15–38)

15 And the day after we came to Miletus. For Paul had
16 determined to sail past Ephesus, that he might not have to spend time in Asia; for he was hastening, if it were possible for him, to be at Jerusalem the day of Pente-
17 cost. And from Miletus he sent to Ephesus, and called to
18 him the elders of the Church. And when they were come to him, he said unto them—

Ye yourselves know, from the first day that I set foot in Asia, after what manner I was with you all the time,
19 serving the Lord with all lowliness of mind, and with tears, and with trials which befell me by the plots of
20 the Jews: how that I shrank not from declaring unto you anything that was profitable, and teaching you
21 publicly, and from house to house, testifying both to Jews and to Greeks repentance toward God, and faith
22 toward our Lord Jesus Christ. And now, behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the
23 things that shall befall me there: save that the Holy Ghost testifieth unto me in every city, saying that bonds
24 and afflictions abide me. But I hold not my life of any account, as dear unto myself, so that I may accomplish my course, and the ministry which I received from the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.
25 And now, behold, I know that ye all, among whom I went about preaching the kingdom, shall see my face
26 no more. Wherefore I testify unto you this day, that I

27 am pure from the blood of all men. For I shrank not
from declaring unto you the whole counsel of God.
28 Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock, in the
which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops, to feed
the church of God, which he purchased with his own
29 blood. I know that after my departing grievous wolves
30 shall enter in among you, not sparing the flock; and
from among your own selves shall men arise, speaking
perverse things, to draw away the disciples after them.
31 Wherefore watch ye, remembering that by the space of
three years I ceased not to admonish every one night
32 and day with tears. And now I commend you to God,
and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you
up, and to give you the inheritance among all them
33 that are sanctified. I coveted no man's silver, or
34 gold, or apparel. Ye yourselves know that these hands
ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were
35 with me. In all things I gave you an example, how
that so labouring ye ought to help the weak, and to
remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he
himself said, It is more blessed to give than to
receive.
36 And when he had thus spoken, he kneeled down, and
37 prayed with them all. And they all wept sore, and fell on
38 Paul's neck, and kissed him, sorrowing most of all for the
word which he had spoken, that they should behold his
face no more. And they brought him on his way unto the
ship.

EPHESUS.—Ephesus was situated on the river Cayster, some three miles from the sea, on the south-western corner of Asia Minor, and, at this time, was capital of Asia, the richest and most important of the Eastern provinces of the Empire. As capital of Asia, it was one of the three great cities of the eastern Mediterranean lands, Alexandria and Syrian Antioch being the other two. Its original foundation was due to

a colonial settlement from Athens itself. It owed its importance to three factors—

1. *Its geographical position* on the great highway from Rome and the West to the distant East, the great road of history, of commercial and intellectual intercourse, which, passing through Ephesus, continued its course eastwards, up the valley of the Mæander, and through Laodicea.

2. *It was the great centre of Asiatic Hellenism.* When poverty and desolation fell on Greece proper, the centre of Hellenic life was transferred across the Ægean to the Hellas of Asia Minor, with its rich and flourishing cities, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, and Colossæ, of which Ephesus was the chief. From its very foundation Ephesus had been a place of importance in the Greek world, and had occupied a prominent position in the history of Greek art and Greek philosophy. It was one of the chief homes of Homeric tradition, and Callinus the father of the Greek elegy, and Hipponax the originator of Greek satire, were natives of the city. It was also the home of Heracleitus, the celebrated philosopher, and of Apelles and Parrhasius, the famous artists.[1]

3. *The religious factor*, which was the most important of all. Within two miles of the city stood the far-famed temple of Artemis, which was in itself one of the wonders of the world, a masterpiece of Ionic architecture, adorned by the work of the greatest of Greek sculptors, Pheidias, Polycletus, and Praxiteles. The worship of Artemis was not of Greek origin, and the temple stood on the site of the prehistoric sanctuary of the aboriginal goddess. This goddess was a relic of a primitive nature worship, who was adopted by the Greeks, and identified with the Greek Artemis and the

[1] See Gore, *Ephesians*, p. 35.

Latin Diana. The original Ephesian deity was, however, not the huntress goddess with her bow, but the many-breasted symbol of the productive and nutritive powers of nature, mother of all life, free and untamed, like the wild beasts who accompanied her. The grotesque and archaic idol, believed to have fallen down from heaven, was a stiff, erect mummy, covered with many breasts and the symbols of wild beasts. In the temple was an enormous establishment of thousands of priests. The worship of the goddess was not confined to Ephesus and the neighbourhood, and she had become a subject of adoration through the Græco-Roman world (Acts xix. 27). It is well known how the Asiatic nature worship flooded the Roman Empire, and even at Rome itself prevailed over the traditional state religion. Among these many cults none was more popular than the worship of Diana of Ephesus, whose temple became a treasury of enormous wealth, offering an almost irresistible temptation to thieves and robbers.[1] It was also a notorious sanctuary for criminals, and consequently a centre of social corruption.

ST. PAUL AT EPHESUS.—The foregoing description enables us to realize the Apostle's eagerness to reach Ephesus, and to make it the head-quarters of his mission. Now the city was not only attractive in itself, but it was also admirably adapted as a centre from which Christianity might be extended over the whole of the vast, rich, province of Asia. The possibility that Ephesus was the Apostle's original destination when he left Perga on his First Missionary Journey, and his steps were turned to Pisidian Antioch by an attack of illness, has already been referred to in a previous chapter.[2] We know for an absolute fact that, on his Second Missionary Journey

[1] Cf. the reference to ἱεροσύλοι in Acts xix. 37.
[2] See Book I, chapter i, p. 38.

he was actually on his way to Asia, and, doubtless therefore, to Ephesus, when he was hindered by the Holy Spirit, and his mission directed to Macedonia and Achaia. On his return journey, however, from Greece to Syria he was able at last to pay a short visit to Ephesus, as a preliminary to a more extended stay at the city. He was so pressed for time in his anxiety to be present at Jerusalem for the feast, that only a hurried visit was possible at this juncture (Acts xviii. 19, 20), and it was not until his Third Missionary Journey that his strong desire to make Ephesus a centre for the evangelizing of Asia was realized, when he was able to spend the greater part of three years in the city (from the autumn of 52 to the beginning of 55).

(*a*) *Some striking incidents during the Apostle's mission at Ephesus.* The story of the Apostle's work at Ephesus opens with the strange incident of his meeting with the twelve disciples of the Baptist, who had not heard of the Holy Ghost, and who were subsequently baptized and confirmed. After this introduction, following his normal course, he commenced operations by preaching in the Synagogue of the Jews, and continued his efforts among them for three months. At the end of this period, discouraged by the unbelief and the opposition that he encountered among his fellow-countrymen, he abandoned them, and, for the remainder of his stay in Ephesus, practically confined himself to work among the Gentiles, establishing himself in the lecture-room of one Tyrannus, where he taught and preached daily for the space of two years. His labours were, however, not limited to Ephesus, and it was during this period that the evangelization of the other Asiatic towns and cities was accomplished, and the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse, for instance, established. This was not necessarily the result of the Apostle's personal labours in every case,

and, in many instances, he must have utilized the services of his companions for this purpose. The Church of Colossæ we know to have owed its foundation to Epaphras, one of his associates, and to have never received a visit from the Apostle himself. Special stress is laid in the narrative upon the Apostle's miracles, and the reason for this departure from his general usage, and from the historian's reticence in the matter of miracles, is to be found in the notorious prevalence of magic in Ephesus.

In this connection we are told of the discomfiture of some strolling Jewish magicians, who thought to increase their power and their profits by a temporary assumption of Christianity, and of a still more significant fact, that many Christian converts, who had dabbled in the black arts, came and confessed their evil practices, and brought their book of incantations, magic formulæ, and their "Ephesian letters," the value of which amounted to fifty thousand drachmas (£1700), and had them publicly burnt.

(*b*) *The mission at Ephesus was a mission of power.* The narrative of the Apostle's mission at Ephesus conveys the impression that it was essentially a mission characterized by power, and that it resulted in very definite success. The frequent use of the word "all" in the record is significant. Cf. "*All* they that dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord." "This became known *to all*, both Jews and Greeks . . . and fear fell upon *them all*" (Acts xix. 10 and 17). "Not only in Ephesus, but almost throughout *all Asia*, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away *much people*" (Acts xix. 26). Acts xix. 20 also points to the same conclusion: "So *mightily* grew the word of the Lord and *prevailed*." This feature of the mission is in complete harmony with the Apostle's own description of it in his First Epistle to the

Corinthians, where he speaks of "a great door" being opened (xvi. 9).

(*c*) *The personal position of the Apostle at Ephesus.* The Apostle himself would seem to have attained to a position of considerable influence, and he was apparently a person of some note in the city. Evidence of this is afforded by his friendly relations with the high Roman officials, such as the Asiarchs, who were presidents of the "provincial union," and priests of the Imperial worship; and also by the speech of the "town clerk," who declared that St. Paul had been guilty of no offence against order, and that his conduct did not, in any way, justify the action of Demetrius and the riot which resulted from it.

(*d*) *The abrupt close of the mission.* The Apostle's period of successful work in Ephesus and in the province of Asia was brought to an abrupt termination by a public riot. The antipathy which caused the riot was not based on any purely religious ground, because Ephesus was cosmopolitan enough to regard with comparative indifference the introduction of strange gods and the preaching of new doctrines. It was not until the wide diffusion of Christianity began to endanger seriously the financial prosperity of the guild of silversmiths, employed in the manufacture of small silver shrines of the goddess Artemis, which were much in request among her devotees, that opposition to the Apostle and to his teaching arose, and took active form. When this stage was reached the silversmiths, under the leadership of one Demetrius, provoked a riot which stirred the whole city. So serious was the outlook, that it required all the power and influence of the "town clerk," the officer responsible for good order in the city, to quell the outbreak. The Apostle himself was kept out of harm's way, chiefly by the persuasion of the Asiarchs, but it was not thought advisable for him to

continue his labours in the city. Thus the most fruitful period in the whole course of his Missionary career was abruptly terminated, and he left Ephesus in the year 55.

THE OCCASION OF THE ADDRESS AT MILETUS.—It was probably some fifteen months or so after his departure from Ephesus that the Apostle found himself once again in the neighbourhood of that city. He was on his way from Corinth to Jerusalem to pay what proved to be his last visit to the Holy City. Great though his longing must have been to revisit the scenes of his long and successful labours, his anxiety to reach Jerusalem for the feast of Pentecost allowed him no time for a stay at Ephesus.

When he realized, however, that the ship in which he was a passenger was to put in at Miletus, a port some twenty miles distant from that city, he decided to summon the "Elders of the Church of Ephesus" to meet him there, that he might thus address the Church in the persons of its leaders and officials. His departure from among them had been so sudden and abrupt, so much had been left unsaid, that some such meeting as this was essential to the welfare of the Ephesian Church. The meeting probably took place in some retired spot close to the sea-shore, and lasted during the greater part of the night, terminating at dawn, when the Apostle bade them a sad farewell, and continued his journey. The audience apparently was not confined to the Elders from Ephesus (Acts xx. 25, ὑμεῖς πάντες). The Christians of Miletus would be there, and so would his own travelling companions, and among them St. Luke, who has preserved for us the address which St. Paul delivered on this occasion. The scene was reproduced, in some respects, at Smyrna, fifty to sixty years later, when St. Ignatius, on his way to meet his death at Rome,

addressed the Church of Ephesus in the persons of its bishop and four of its leading officials.

ANALYSIS OF THE ADDRESS.[1]—The address may be analysed from two points of view.

(*a*) From the point of view of the particular section of the audience which is being addressed. Thus—

1. Acts xx. 18–27 are addressed to the audience at large, and take the form of a personal vindication.

2. Acts xx. 28–35 are concerned with the Ephesian Elders in particular. This section is capable of further sub-division, vv. 28–31 containing his charge to the Elders, and vv. 32–35 his farewell message.

(*b*) A second analysis is based on the point of view of the Apostle's relation to different spheres, *e.g.*—

1. Acts xx. 18–27 describe his relation to the world at large.

2. Acts xx. 28–31 describe his relation to the Church.

3. Acts xx. 32–35 describe his relation to the individual life.

Each of these sections again is composed of two elements, a defence and a charge. Thus—

1. Contains his defence to the world—he has paid his debt to both Jew and Greek, and his charge to the world—to repent and believe (Acts xx. 21).

2. Contains his defence to the Church—he has fulfilled his ministry (Acts xx. 27, 31), and his charge to the Elders—to be faithful to their ministry (Acts xx. 28, 31).

3. The address concludes with a defence of his own personal sincerity (Acts xx. 33, 34), and his charge to individual Christians—to lead lives of self-denial and self-devotion.

Dr. Chase[2] describes the address as being primarily concerned with the past and the future.

[1] See Rackham, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 385.
[2] Chase, *Credibility of the Acts*, p. 235.

1. It is by appeals to their own knowledge of his life and work among them in the past, that he vindicates himself against the charges that were brought against him, whether as to a lack of fidelity to his trust, impure motives, or self-seeking. The address opens with an emphatic appeal to this knowledge, and it is repeated twice in the course of it (Acts xx. 18, 31, 34).

2. His views of the future are contained in—

(*a*) vv. 22, 25. His own future.
(*b*) vv. 29, 30, 32, 35. The future of the Church.

The Address (Acts xx. 18–35).

18 The keynote of the whole discourse is struck in the opening sentence, "*Ye yourselves know.*" It is essentially an appeal to his audience's knowledge of his life, work, and character. First of all his ministry
19 among them for more than two and a half years is reviewed: a ministry which consisted in service, "*serving the Lord as a slave,*" and the principal features of which were humility, tears, and persecution—the third feature being specifically ascribed to the Jews.

20 This service took the form of bearing witness to the Lord, and in that service there had been no reserve, either in the matter of the content of his message, or of personal effort on his own part. All that was profitable had been declared, and, as far as he himself is concerned,
21 no labour had been spared. Both in public and in private, to Jew as well as to Greek, the Gospel had been declared—a Gospel the very essence of which was a call to repentance and faith.

22 The Apostle now digresses somewhat, in order to explain his own movements, and the reason why he had summoned the present gathering. Driven by the influence of God's Holy Spirit, he is on his way to

23 Jerusalem. The future is dark and uncertain, and the revelation is confined to the one prediction, that perse-
24 cution and suffering await him. This, however, does not affect his purpose. His own personal comfort and safety are of no account to him, and even life itself will be gladly surrendered if he may but "run his course," and complete that mission which he has received from the hands of the Lord Jesus Himself—a mission which has a twofold character, seeing that he is not only a bearer "of the Gospel of the grace of God," but also a
25 herald "of the kingdom of God." Knowing, therefore, by the revelation of the Spirit, that this is the last occasion upon which they will look upon his face, he has called them into his presence, that he may deliver to them his final charge and warning, and bid them a loving and tender farewell.

26 He has already passionately declared his immunity from blame on the score of any imperfection or incompleteness in the message that he had delivered to them. There was no element of reserve or esoteric doctrine in the Gospel that he preached. He had "declared all that was profitable." The same note of personal vindication is again struck in this verse, where it takes, if possible, a stronger and more definite tone than before.
27 "The whole counsel of God" has been delivered to them, and upon them, Elders and brethren, the responsibility
28 must now rest. In words of the deepest solemnity he now approaches the main purpose of the address, which was primarily intended to be a charge to the Elders of the Ephesian Church, whom he had summoned to his presence. "Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock, in which the Holy Spirit has made you bishops." The treasure committed to their charge is none other than "the Church of God," the *flock* of Christ "purchased with His own blood."

29 This grave warning is all the more necessary because serious and imminent perils await the Church, perils from without, and, what is perhaps of greater import,
30 perils from within the Church itself. From without shall arise persecutors and false teachers; from within heresies and perversions will strive to destroy the unity of the Church.

31 To meet these dangers successfully two qualities are absolutely essential on the part of the leaders of the Church: they must watch, and they must teach, and in both spheres they are to follow the example that he himself has set them during his long ministry among them, when, as he had already reminded them, no one's welfare had been neglected, no personal effort spared, and no sacrifice considered too heavy (cf. Acts xx. 19–21).

32 And now the time has arrived when he must bid them farewell, and commend them to the loving care of God as revealed in Christ Jesus, Who alone can complete the edifice of which He is the Founder and Builder, and Who will bring them to that heavenly inheritance, which is theirs as the children of God and fellow-heirs with Himself.

33 The address closes with a third and final vindication of his own absolute sincerity and simplicity of motive. The "inheritance" of which he has spoken does not consist in worldly riches, "in gold, and silver, and apparel," and in this matter he had given them an object-lesson. He had not only manifested a complete disregard of wealth and earthly possessions, but he had even worked with his own hands, in order that he might provide for his own necessities and those of the Apostolic company.

34 Thus they would learn that the Christian ideal was to be found in humble service, in devotion and self-sacrifice,

even as our Lord Himself had taught them when He said, "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE ADDRESS.—Of all the Pauline orations the address at Miletus, by the very fact of its being an Apostolic charge to a Christian assembly, has most in common with the Epistles, and, for this reason, we are furnished with more complete data for comparison than is possible in the case of other sermons or addresses.

Hence hostile authorities meet with considerable difficulty in framing reasonable objections to its genuineness. The volume of criticism in this direction is consequently calmer, and less violent in tone, and lacks that definiteness of conclusion which is so prominent a feature in the criticism of other Pauline utterances.

Even such an out-and-out opponent of the authenticity of the speeches as Prof. Bacon[1] has nothing worse to say of this than that it is more Lucan than Pauline in tone and motive, and he acknowledges that the incident of the parting at Miletus speaks from the very life.

Professor Davidson's[2] objections do not carry any degree of conviction, and his summary of Pauline words and phrases which occur in the address more than counterbalances the criticism in which he indulges, and in which he maintains that the address is too apologetic, and that its personal tone is too prominent.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE AUTHENTICITY.—Among the main objections to the authenticity of the incident and address the following may be noted.

1. *The narrative is not consistent.* We are told, for instance, that the Apostle avoided calling at Ephesus lest he should be delayed, and so prevented from

[1] Bacon, *Story of St. Paul*, p. 182.
[2] Davidson, *Intro. to the New Test.*, vol. ii. p. 115.

arriving in Jerusalem in time for the feast of Pentecost (Acts xx. 16), and yet we find that, before he finally reached Jerusalem, he spent seven days in Tyre, and many days at Cæsarea (Acts xxi. 4, 10). A very slight acquaintance with the conditions of coasting navigation disposes of this criticism. On such voyages as that undertaken by the Apostle, delays, caused by such contingencies as adverse winds, waiting for cargo, the difficulty of finding a ship proceeding to the port required, are only too common, and therefore any unnecessary stoppages are exceedingly risky in the case of a traveller anxious to arrive at his destination by a fixed date. When the sea portion of the journey is completed, further progress by land is comparatively easy and certain, and as the Apostle found on arriving at Tyre that there was still a considerable interval before Pentecost, all necessity for undue hurry had disappeared. There was, therefore, no reason why the intervening days should not be spent in useful work among the brethren at Tyre and Cæsarea.

2. *The tone of the address itself*, with its dark outlook on the future, is not consistent with the tone of the Epistle to the Romans (more especially that of Chapter xv.), written only a few months before this. In reply to this it may be stated that much had happened even in the short interval since the letter had been written, which would account for this difference of tone. There had been Jewish plots against his life at Corinth, and, according to his own personal testimony in the address, he had been the recipient of many warnings as to the perils that awaited him. The different environments of the letter and address would also go far to explain this change. In the letter he is writing with a prospect of visiting the Christians in the Imperial city at no very distant date; here he is taking a sad and final farewell

of those among whom he had laboured so devotedly for so many years, to whom he was bound by the closest ties of love and affection, and we naturally miss the buoyancy of spirit and cheerfulness of tone which are so characteristic of him under normal conditions.

3. *There is no mention of the "collection for the saints" in the address.* The Epistles to the Corinthians and to the Romans testify to the fact that, at the period at which they were written, the one subject that engrossed the Apostle's attention was the collection from the Churches, more especially those of Achaia and Macedonia, towards the needs of the poorer brethren in Judæa, and we also know, from other sources, that the primary purpose of his visit to Jerusalem was to convey the proceeds of that collection and place them in the hands of the authorities of the Church in the Holy City. There is, however, no mention of this collection in the address, although it abounds in references to the journey itself. The omission has been explained in several ways. The Apostle may have refrained from mentioning the collection from motives of delicacy. The Churches of Asia, and that of Ephesus among them, had not been asked to contribute towards it, and his silence on this point was therefore perfectly natural. Others suggest that the Apostle may have referred to it, and that the reference has dropped out in St. Luke's report.

4. Harnack [1] and McGiffert [2] maintain that the pathetic tone and sentimental touches, which form so prominent a feature in the discourse, are due to the author rather than to the Apostle, and are more Lucan than Pauline in style and tone, and Clemen [3] goes so far as to reject

[1] Harnack, *St. Luke the Physician*, p. 138.
[2] McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 338.
[3] Clemen (*Paulus*) quoted in Knowling, *Testimony of St. Paul to Christ*, p. 416.

the address on the ground that it is incredible that St. Paul should have spoken and behaved as he is described to have done here. The force of this objection is largely destroyed when we consider the exceedingly painful character of the separation. Besides, there is no valid reason why this manifestation of emotion should be considered un-Pauline. The conditions themselves are a sufficient warrant for such an exhibition of feeling as we find here. It is a parting scene, and, according to the Apostle's own deliberate conviction expressed at the time, it is final in its character. "They should see his face no more." He had lived and worked among them for close upon three years; they were his children in Christ, bound to him by every bond of gratitude and affection; he foresaw dangers and afflictions awaiting them when his personal presence would no longer be with them to guide and protect them. Surely here, if anywhere, is a situation which justified a display of grief and emotion however excessive. Of the strength of his feelings towards his converts, and of the depth of his emotions we have abundance of evidence in the Epistles, and more particularly in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, which is the most personal of all his letters. Cf. "Out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you with many tears; not that ye should be made sorry, but that ye might know the love which I have more abundantly unto you" (2 Cor. ii. 4). "Our mouth is open unto you, O Corinthians, our heart is enlarged" (2 Cor. vi. 11). "Ye are in our hearts to die together and to live together" (2 Cor. vii. 3). "And I will most gladly spend and be spent for your souls" (2 Cor. xii. 15). "Because I have you in my heart" (Phil. i. 7). "My little children, of whom I am again in travail until Christ be formed in you" (Gal. iv. 19).

The following extract from a sermon on "The tears of

St. Paul," by Adolph Monod, is exceedingly apposite to the subject—

"The tears of the Apostle have explained him to us. The power of his apostleship was in his personal Christianity, and his personal Christianity was a Christianity of tears. By tears of grief he subdued others by gaining their sympathy; by tears of love he gained love, and by tears of tenderness he persuaded others by the simplicity of his Gospel."

5. *His conviction, strongly expressed in Acts xx.* 25 (*I know*), *that he should see the Ephesians no more, is not justified by subsequent events.* By reference to 1 Tim. i. 3 and 2 Tim. i. 15 ff., we find that a later visit to Ephesus is implied. We can only compare the apparent discrepancy here with the change in the Apostle's conviction with regard to the second coming of our Lord. He does not base his conviction in this case on any special revelation, nor does he claim for it any weight beyond that afforded by his own view of the particular circumstances. The sequel proved that his view was incorrect, but it does not render it impossible that he should have given expression to such a conviction at the time.

6. *The description of his ministry as contained in the address is not in harmony with the narrative in Acts xix.*

(*a*) There is no mention in the narrative of "tears and trials" (Acts xx. 19) during his stay at Ephesus.

(*b*) In the narrative of the voyage there is no mention of the "prophecies" which the Apostle alleges to have been a feature in every city that he passed through (Acts xx. 23), although there is a great deal said about them as having occurred at Tyre and at Cæsarea (Acts xxi. 4, 11, 12).

(*c*) There is no reference to the Apostle working with his hands in any other part of the Acts.

With reference to (*a*) it may be noted that the whole

tone of the address is in wonderful harmony with the Epistles to Corinth, written during his ministry at Ephesus, and the reference in 1 Cor. xv. 32, "I have fought with beasts at Ephesus," which cannot refer to the riot which precipitated his departure from the city, and also in 2 Cor. i. 8, "For we would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning our affliction which befell us in Asia," tend in a large measure to confirm the correctness of the statement in the address.

The facts adduced in (*b*) and (*c*) are evidently supplementary to the narrative in the Acts. That it was the Apostle's custom in other places to work with his own hands is undoubted (see Acts xviii. 3; 1 Cor. iv. 12; 1 Thess. ii. 9; 2 Thess. iii. 8), and there is no reason why he should not have done so at Ephesus.

7. *The structure of the address suggests the amalgamation of two separate discourses, one to a general congregation of Christians, and the other to Elders of the Church.* This feature in the address is explained by the mixed character of the audience, which was composed not only of the special deputation of Elders from Ephesus, but also of a more general concourse of Christians from Miletus and the neighbourhood. The Apostle, in the course of his address, passes from one section to the other, often without any perceptible break, and, at one time, addresses the congregation as a whole, and, at another, confines himself to the Elders only. In spite of its somewhat fragmentary character the address bears unmistakable signs of unity, in purpose and spirit, and there is a natural sequence and progress of thought.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF THE AUTHENTICITY.—1. *The report in the Acts is the work of an eye-witness.* It is the only one of St. Paul's addresses which, without any hesitation whatever, can be pronounced to have been delivered in the hearing of St. Luke. The use of

"we" in Acts xxi. 1 is decisive on this point, and we have therefore here an actual reproduction of the speech, either from memory, or from notes taken at the time of delivery. And even if the presence of St. Luke were not an acknowledged fact, the address itself bears, on its very surface, unmistakable signs of the eye-witness. The Apostle, from the very outset, is under the influence of strong personal emotion, and as he proceeds, this feeling increases in intensity—a change which is reflected by a corresponding change in the character of the discourse. The style becomes less continuous and more disconnected, the sentences are short and sharp, and, as we reach the climax, with its solemn warnings, and its dark forebodings of the future, we hear the very words of the Apostle himself, as they were actually spoken, so important did it appear to St. Luke that not a syllable should be changed or lost. Such dramatic touches as "Ye yourselves know" (Acts xx. 18), "And now, behold" (Acts xx. 22, 25), "These hands" (Acts xx. 34), and the extremely pathetic reference to the fact "that they should see his face no more" (Acts xx. 38), all testify, in the strongest manner, to the presence of the eye-witness.

2. *The Pauline characteristics in the address.* From this point of view the argument in favour of the genuineness of the report is overwhelming. It is impossible for the reader who is at all conversant with the marks of Paulinism not to detect them here. Herein lies the supreme interest of the address, that it so marvellously reveals to us Paul, the man, and, in this respect, it is equalled only by the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. How eloquently it proclaims his tenderness for his flock that he has reared, his unrestrained sorrow at parting from them, and seeing their faces no more! And with it all there is the uncompromising vindication of his own

character and ministry, the emphatic appeal to his own personal example, the stern and solemn warning to the Elders of their responsibility, and of the perils of the future—all of which give us a picture of the Apostle, in which every line and feature is easily recognizable by the student of Paulinism.

3. *The relation of the address to other Pauline documents.* In our study of the sermon at Antioch in Pisidia, delivered to one of the Galatian Churches, it was found that there existed a remarkable correspondence between the spoken utterance and the letter addressed, some years later, by the Apostle to the Churches of Galatia. Now a similar connection might be anticipated between this address to the Ephesian Elders and the letter to the Ephesian Church, and a comparison of the two documents establishes such a relationship beyond a doubt.

(*a*) *The address compared with the Epistle to the Ephesians.* The following are some of the most important points of correspondence between the address and the Epistle.

(1) Acts xx. 27, *πᾶσαν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ* (the whole counsel of God). This is the dominating thought of the Epistle. The word itself, *βουλή*, occurs in Ephes. i. 11, *κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ* (after the counsel of His will), while the idea finds expression in various synonyms, as *e. g.*, *εὐδοκία* (the good pleasure) (Ephes. i. 10), *εὐδοκία τοῦ θελήματος* (the good pleasure of His will) (Ephes. i. 5).

(2) Equally prominent in the Epistle is the idea of the *inheritance*, *κληρονομία* (Acts xx. 32). Cf. *ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐκληρώθημεν* (in Whom we also were made a heritage) (Ephes. i. 11) and *ἀρραβὼν τῆς κληρονομίας ἡμῶν* (the earnest of our inheritance) (Ephes. i. 14).

(3) *The conception of the Church as a building.* Acts xx. 32, *τῷ δυναμένῳ οἰκοδομῆσαι* (which is able to build

you up). With this compare the very important passage in Ephes. ii. 20–22, where the Church is spoken of as being "built (ἐποικοδομηθείς) upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Christ Jesus Himself being the chief corner stone; in Whom each several building (οἰκοδομή), fitly framed together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord; in Whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God in the Spirit." In this connection, the cognate phrase, "being rooted and grounded (τεθεμελιωμένοι) in love" (Ephes. iii. 17) should be noted.

(4) *The importance attached to the pastoral office in the address.* The charge to the Elders that they are "to take heed to themselves, and to their flock" (Acts xx. 28) and "to feed the Church of God," and, above all, that they are "to watch" (Acts xx. 31), finds an echo in Ephes. iv. 11, where we find not only Apostles, Prophets, and Evangelists enumerated among the officers of the Church, but also *pastors*.

The connection between the pastoral office and the "building" of the Church in Acts xx. 32 is also manifested in Ephes. iv. 12, 16, 29, "Unto the building up of the body of Christ" (εἰς οἰκοδομὴν) "unto the building up of itself in love" (εἰς οἰκοδομὴν), "such as is good for edifying" (πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν).

(5) *The gift of his ministry is derived from Christ Himself.* In Acts xx. 24 he describes his ministry as "The ministry which I received (ἔλαβον) from the Lord Jesus." With this compare Ephes. iii. 2, "The dispensation of that grace of God which is given me (τῆς δοθείσης μοι) to you-ward"; Ephes. iii. 7, "Whereof I was made a minister, according to the gift of that grace of God which was given me" (τῆς δοθείσης μοι), and also Ephes. iv. 11, "And He gave some to be (ἔδωκε) Apostles."

(6) With the thought of God "purchasing" (περι-

ποιήσατο) His Church, cf. Ephes. i. 14, "Unto the redemption of God's own possession" (περιποιήσεως). The use of the phrase "the blood of Christ" in this connection is also found in Ephes. i. 7, "In Whom we have redemption through His blood," and in Ephes. ii. 13, "Ye are made nigh in the blood of Christ."

(*b*) *The relation of the address to the Epistles to the Corinthians, and to Timothy.* In addition to the Epistle to the Ephesians there are two other sets of Pauline documents which are closely connected with Ephesus, viz. the Epistles to the Church of Corinth, written during the Apostle's ministry at Ephesus, and the Epistles to Timothy, who was located in that city when he received them, and the address is found to be in striking correspondence with both sets of letters.

(1) *Points of correspondence with the Epistles to the Corinthians.* Reference has already been made to the very marked coincidences between the address and the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, more especially in the picture they present of the Apostle's relationship with the Churches, and in the description of his ministry at Ephesus. Other points of contact between the address and both Epistles are enumerated below.

A. *The charges against which he defends himself.* Both the address and the Epistles are essentially apologetic in their tone, and, in both, the Apostle vigorously defends himself against charges which are apparently of a serious nature. From the substance of the address we gather that two different accusations were brought against him.

(*a*) That he was unfaithful in his ministry in that he showed partiality, and did not declare the whole truth of God. To these charges he replies in the address (Acts xx. 18–20), calling to witness the absolute strenuousness of his own personal efforts, and the universality of

his mission. Later on (Acts xx. 27) he vehemently asserts that he had "delivered the whole counsel of God."

(*b*) A charge of self-seeking, and of being governed by mercenary motives, which he repels in the concluding portion of his discourse (Acts xx. 33–35).

The whole of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians is in striking accord with this aspect of the address, and we would specially refer to the following verses in support of this contention (2 Cor. ii. 17; iv. 2; xi. 7, 8; xii. 13)—

1. "We are not as the many, corrupting the word of God: but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God, speak we the truth."

2. "Not handling the word of God deceitfully."

3. "Did I commit a sin . . . because I preached to you the Gospel of Christ for nought? I robbed other Churches, taking wages of them that I might minister unto you."

4. "For what is there wherein ye were made inferior to the rest of the Churches, except that I myself was not a burden to you?"

With his indignant denial of mercenary motives we may compare 1 Cor. ix. 3–18, where the Apostle discusses the question of his rights and privileges in that capacity, and as a minister of Christ.

B. *The Apostle's depreciation of himself*, and his declaration of the complete surrender of life, and all that life means, for the sake of Christ (Acts xx. 24), finds a parallel in 2 Cor. iv. 7, "We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the exceeding greatness of the power may be of God, and not from ourselves"; in 2 Cor. vi. 4–10, where, in a passage of wonderful richness, he sets forth the characteristics of his ministry; and again in 2 Cor. xii. 9, where we read, "My grace is sufficient for thee; for my power is made perfect in weakness."

(2) *Points of correspondence with the Epistles to Timothy.*

(*a*) The organization of the Church, as depicted in the narrative, and in the address, corresponds exactly with that found in these Epistles. The Church at Ephesus, both now and in Timothy's time, is governed by bishops or presbyters (Acts xx. 18, 28 ; 1 Tim. iii. 1 ; v. 17), the two words being interchangeable in both cases, who are under the superintendence of an Apostle, or of a member of the Apostolic group, clothed with Apostolic authority.

(*b*) Again, we find in the address indications of the existence within the Church at Ephesus of the beginnings of error, which, by the time we come to the period of the Pastoral Epistles, have reached a serious stage of development. With the description of the false teachers in Acts xx. 29, 30, where they are designated "grievous wolves" and "men from among yourselves speaking perverse things," cf. 2 Tim. iii. 6, 13, "They that creep into houses, and take captive silly women," and "Evil men and impostors shall wax worse and worse."

(*c*) The following suggestive words are common to both address and letters : διαμαρτύρομαι (testify), δρόμος (course), καθαρός (pure), προσέχετε (take heed), πρεσβύτερος (elder), ἐπίσκοπος (bishop).

C. *The relation of the address to the Acts of the Apostles.* The references to the Apostle's work at Ephesus contained in the address are, on the whole, in harmony with the record of the same period as set forth in the narrative in the Acts. Where differences occur, they can generally be explained by the fact that one account supplements the other.

(1) *The length of the ministry at Ephesus*, as stated in the address (Acts xx. 31), corresponds roughly with that given in Acts xix. 8, 10, where two whole years, and a part of a third, are mentioned.

(2) *The description of the Apostle's ministry* as conducted

"from house to house" (Acts xx. 20) is in accord with Apostolic practice elsewhere. See Acts ii. 46, "They broke bread from house to house" (A.V.). It has been suggested that in the Apostle's custom of preaching "from house to house" there may have been some measure of atonement, because he had once persecuted the Church "from house to house" (Acts viii. 3).

(3) *The Apostle's conception of his mission*, which included both Jews and Greeks (Acts xx. 21), is as catholic in its character, and as wide in its scope, as we know his practice to have been in all other spheres of his evangelistic work, in Galatia, Macedonia, and Achaia; while his Gospel remains essentially the same, a Gospel of repentance and faith (Acts xx. 21).

(4) *The phraseology of the address also has many parallels* in other portions of the Acts. The reference to the "plots of the Jews" (Acts xx. 19) may be compared with Acts ix. 24; xx. 3; and xxiii. 30. Such verbal coincidences as "afflictions" (Acts xx. 23, and vii. 10), "the counsel of God" (Acts xx. 27, and xiii. 36), "course" (Acts xx. 24, and xiii. 25), "perverse" (Acts xx. 30, and xiii. 8, 10) deserve attention. The last three words, it will be noted, are also found in the sermon at Antioch in Pisidia.

4. *The Pauline vocabulary in the address.* The marked correspondence between the address and other Pauline literature is still further illustrated by the wealth of distinctively Pauline words and phrases found in it. Among these we may mention such words and phrases as ταπεινοφροσύνη (lowliness of mind), ὑποστελλέσθαι (to refrain from), τὸ συμφερόν (that which is profitable), διαμαρτύρεθαι (to testify), καθαρὸς ἐγὼ (I am pure), νουθετεῖν (to admonish), διακονία (ministry), ἐποικοδομεῖν (to build up), φειδέσθαι (to spare), κοπιᾶν (to labour). A great number of these are found only in the Pauline section

of the New Testament, and the remainder are of rare occurrence in the other books.

5. *Summary of the arguments in favour of the authenticity of the address.* This detailed study of the address itself, and the very complete comparison of its contents with the remainder of the Acts, and with the Pauline Epistles, can only lead to one conclusion, viz. that we have here an authentic report of the Apostle's discourse, in which his actual words are, to a large extent, embodied. This does not preclude our acknowledging a certain amount of compressing and editing on the part of St. Luke.

THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY IN THE ADDRESS.—The address is, in the main, a charge to the official ministry of the Church at Ephesus, designated generally by the term "elders," but once described under the title of "bishops."

The Elders of the Church. 1. *Their origin.* The term "elders" as applied to the officials of the Church is not of Christian origin, but is already found in Greek, Roman, and Jewish life, and, in all three cases, is a term with civil and religious affinities. As such, it was used of the Roman Senate, as well as of the "Gerousia" in Greek cities, and the members of the latter body were often called πρεσβύτεροι (elders). The name and office in the Christian Church owes its origin, however, to the corresponding institution among the Jews, where it can be traced as far back as the beginning of Israel's history. They were, moreover, not confined to Israel at this stage, but are found among the surrounding nations of Egypt, Moab, and Midian (Gen. l. 7; Num. xxii. 7). In the case of Israel they seem to have been important factors in local, as well as in national affairs. In the latter capacity they are closely associated with the change of government which resulted in the election of

Saul as king, and in them Jezebel finds willing instruments for the judicial murder of Naboth. As local authorities we find them in the position of justices (Deut. xxii. 15). After the return from the exile they assume great prominence in the Jewish commonwealth, and are the moving spirits in the re-building of the Temple, and in the adoption of measures of social and religious reform. In New Testament times "the elders of the people" are a well-recognized feature of Jewish political and religious life.

The Sanhedrin, the supreme council of the Jewish nation, was framed on the original institution of "elders" established by Moses, and there were bodies of a similar nature in every city, to which was entrusted the oversight of secular and religious matters, and, more especially, the "rule of the Synagogue." It was in these local bodies that the Christian Church found its archetype for the institution of "elders," which formed such a prominent feature of its organization. Our Lord had foreshadowed the formation of such a body by His appointment of the "Seventy," again following the Mosaic pattern. Christian "elders" are first mentioned in Acts xi. 30, where the Elders of the Church of Jerusalem are designated as the authority to whom Paul and Barnabas are to deliver the alms contributed by the Church of Antioch. When we reach Acts xiv. 23, we find that "elders" are recognized as an essential component of the organization of every Christian community, and are established in all the Churches of Galatia by Paul and Barnabas.

From Acts xv. 4, 6, we learn that the Elders at Jerusalem took a formal part in the reception of the delegates from Antioch, and had a recognized position in the constitution of the Apostolic Council, the decrees of which are promulgated under the joint authority of "Apostles

and Elders." Up to this point, and in the very narrative and address which we are discussing (Acts xx. 18, 28), this order of the Christian ministry is designated as being an order of "bishops" or "presbyters," and, at this period there is no distinction of office or function conveyed in the use of the two terms.

2. *The appointment of Elders.* They are appointed by the Apostles, or by Apostolic men, such as Timothy and Titus (Titus i. 5), who ordain them for the office by the laying on of hands (Acts xiv. 23), which is the outward sign of the gift of God's Holy Spirit (Acts xx. 28). Later on we find the whole body of the presbytery associated with the Apostles, or Apostolic men, in the laying on of hands (1 Tim. iv. 14).

3. *The functions of the Elders.* (*a*) *They exercised a general superintendence over the affairs of the Churches.* This would account for the use of the title of "bishop" (ἐπίσκοπος, overseer). Their position in this respect is also illustrated by such terms as κυβερνήσεις (governments) and ἀντιλήψεις (helps) (1 Cor. xii. 28), while reference to their ruling power is made in 1 Tim. v. 17, "The Elders that rule well"; in 1 St. Pet. v. 2, 3, "Tend the flock which is among you . . . not lording it over the charge allotted to you," and, probably, in 1 Thess. v. 12, "Those that are over you (προϊσταμένοι) in the Lord"; in Rom. xii. 8, "He that ruleth" (ὁ προϊστάμενος); and in Heb. xiii. 7, 17, 24, "Them that had the rule over you" (οἱ ἡγουμένοι), "Obey them that have the rule over you," "Salute them that have the rule over you."

(*b*) *They are to teach.* Cf. 1 Cor. xii. 28, "thirdly, teachers"; Ephes. iv. 11, "pastors and teachers"; 1 Tim. v. 17, "especially those who labour in the word and in teaching." According to Titus i. 9, a bishop must be able "both to exhort in the sound doctrine and

to convert the gainsayers," while in 1 Tim. iii. 2, "he must be apt to teach."

(*c*) *They are to exercise pastoral care.* Cf. 1 St. Pet. v. 2, "Tend the flock which is among you"; 1 St. Jas. v. 14, "Is any among you sick, let him call for the elders of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him in the name of the Lord." They are also, according to 1 Tim. iii. 2, and Titus i. 8, to exercise hospitality, which included the care of the poor, not the least important of an Elder's duties.

4. *The Elders in the address.* It is in the address at Miletus that we have the most complete picture of the functions and responsibilities of the Christian Elder, and, by means of it, we are able to realize the Apostle's conception of the Christian ministry. It has been well called the Pauline *speculum sacerdotis*, and, in this respect, it may be compared with the pregnant passage in 2 Cor. vi. 3–10. The following are some of the most important characteristics of the Christian minister as portrayed by St. Paul.

A. *Personal character.* "Take heed to yourselves" (Acts xx. 28). The very foundation of their ministerial office consists in personal character, and in this is to be found the guarantee of successful service for Christ.

B. *They are to exercise oversight and rule over* the charge entrusted to them, inasmuch as they are "bishops, overseers" (Acts xx. 28). Cf. 1 St. Pet. v. 2, "Tend the flock of God which is among you, exercising the oversight" (ἐπισκοποῦντες).

C. *They are to be shepherds.* The Apostle's command is that they should "feed the Church of God," and that they should "watch," following the example of the Good Shepherd, whose duty it was to provide sustenance for the flock, and to defend it against the attacks of man and beast. In the Ephesian Church the Elders

would be called upon to exercise the shepherd's function in its entirety, and more especially in its latter aspect of defence, because "wolves" would attack the fold from without and traitors from within.

D. *In all things they were to follow the example of the Apostle himself*, even as he followed in the steps of the Master. The ideal he set before them was that of strenuous, devoted service, in which the interests of the weak, physically, morally, and spiritually, are to be their first consideration. It is to be a service marked by absolute sincerity of purpose, which therefore demands the most complete sacrifice of self. The charge to the Priests in the Ordinal of the Church of England reads almost like a paraphrase of the charge to the Elders here. "Ye are to be Messengers, Watchmen, and Stewards of the Lord; to teach and to premonish, to feed and provide for the Lord's family; to seek for Christ's sheep that are dispersed abroad, and for His children."[1]

WHAT IS THE ERROR DESCRIBED IN ACTS XX. 30? —"Of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things (διεστραμμένα) to draw away disciples after them." The false teaching, concerning which the Apostle utters an incisive warning here, was to arise from within the Church itself, which was in the main a Gentile Church. The problem is, therefore, not that of the Judaizing element, against which he had waged a stern, unrelenting, and, on the whole, successful warfare. The allusion is vague, and the danger is as yet only on the horizon, but it is present. The most satisfactory answer to our question is that which sees in the warning a reference to the germs of the later methods of Gnosticism, which the Apostle, with his keen knowledge and insight, was quick to detect. The description of the

[1] See Rackham, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 387.

error, which consists in "men from among yourselves speaking perverse things" accords with what we know of Gnosticism, which had its origin in a distorted and unnatural presentation of the Gospel, and sprang, very largely, from within the Church itself. When we come to the period of the Epistles of the First Imprisonment, the danger has increased and gained in intensity, as is shown by Ephes. iv. 14, "That we may be no longer children, tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, in craftiness, after the wiles of error," and by the whole contents of the Epistle to the Colossians.

M. Sabatier[1] maintains that there are other indications of the presence of semi-Gnosticism in the Church at this period, as *e.g.* in the Epistle to the Romans (ch. xiv.), where the case of "the weaker brethren" is discussed by the Apostle. According to his theory, it is not Judaistic practices that are in question here, nor practices due to the influence of Pythagoreanism or Essenism, as Rischl asserts, but an asceticism which had its root in Gnostic docetism. Sanday and Headlam[2] are, however, of opinion that in this chapter the Apostle is not so much discussing difficulties that have arisen, as those which may arise, and is not dealing with a definite sect or body in the Roman Church, and that there is no special reference in the arguments, while Dr. Hort[3] adds that "there is no reference to a burning controversy, the matter is dealt with as simply one of individual conscience."

The notorious prevalence of exorcism at Ephesus and the reference to "Jewish exorcists" (Acts xix. 13) in the narrative of the Apostle's ministry in the same city,

[1] Sabatier, *St. Paul*, p. 214 f.
[2] Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 399 ff.
[3] Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 126.

and the burning of the magical books of the Christian converts, combined with the fact that, according to Josephus, the Essenes were specially addicted to such practices, would seem to give a clue to the character of the heresy which was beginning to raise its head in the Ephesian Church. If this be the case, it had its origin in the Essene type of Judaism, which becoming affiliated with the philosophical and religious ideas of this part of Asia, developed into the full-grown Gnosticism of later days.[1]

ST. PAUL'S "PASSION FOR THE ABSOLUTE" ILLUSTRATED IN THE ADDRESS.—One of the most remarkable features of the address consists in the manifestation it affords us of the thoroughness of the Apostle in work and method, or what M. Sabatier aptly calls "St. Paul's passion for the absolute."[2]

The keynote of the address is the word "all," and its antithesis "nothing." In Acts xx. 18, in the description of his ministry at Ephesus, he declares how, "from the *first day* he set foot in Asia, he was with them *all* the time, serving the Lord with *all* lowliness of mind."

Verses 20, 27, and 31, afford striking instances of the intense thoroughness of the Apostle's work at Ephesus: "I shrank not from declaring unto you *anything* that was profitable, and teaching you *publicly* and *from house to house*, testifying *both to Jews and to Greeks*;" "I shrank not from declaring unto you *the whole counsel* of God;" "By the space of *three years* I *ceased not* to admonish *every* one *night and day with tears*."

The same feature runs through the whole discourse as the following quotations show—

[1] Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 95 ff.
[2] Sabatier, *St. Paul*, p. 54.

Acts xx. 24, "I hold not my life *of any account*."
" " 26, "I am pure from the blood of *all men*."
" " 33, "I coveted *no man's* silver or gold."
" " 35, "In *all things* I gave you an example."

THE QUESTION OF READING IN ACTS XX. 28.—Our study of the address would not be complete without a reference to the well-known question of reading in v. 28. The Revised Version, accepting the reading *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἣν περιποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου*, translates it "the Church of God which He purchased with His own blood," but gives in the margin an alternate reading, *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Κυρίου*, "the Church of the Lord."

The weight of MSS. authority is fairly evenly balanced on either side. The objection to the reading *τοῦ θεοῦ* is purely of a doctrinal character. It is maintained that St. Paul could never have spoken of "the Church of God which He purchased with *His own blood*," such language as is contained in the expression "the *blood of God*" being absolutely unknown in the whole range of Apostolic and patristic literature. If *τοῦ θεοῦ* be not the correct reading, it is difficult to account for its presence in so many important MSS., whereas the substitution of *τοῦ Κυρίου* by a scribe, in order to avoid the theological difficulty, is quite intelligible.

Assuming therefore the original reading to have been *τοῦ θεοῦ*, how are we to interpret the passage? The following interpretations have been suggested—

1. That *τοῦ θεοῦ*, standing, as it does here, with the article, and without any adjunct, refers to Christ. This suggestion is, however, not supported by any analogies of language.

2. *διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου* might be translated "through the blood that was His own," being His own because it

was His Son's. This conception of the death of Christ as a price paid by the Father is in strict accordance with St. Paul's own language elsewhere. Cf. Rom. v. 8, "But God commendeth His own love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." Also Rom. viii. 32, "He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all." Such language is also found in early Christian literature. Dr. Hort[1] propounds a theory which removes any theological difficulty, and suggests that υἱοῦ may have dropped out after ἰδίου, the scribe having omitted the former word because the three letters ιου occurred twice over, and the mistake having been reproduced afterwards. If this emendation be accepted, the doctrinal difficulty disappears, and τοῦ θεοῦ stands as the original reading.

THE SAYING OF OUR LORD IN ACTS XX. 35.—There are several sayings of our Lord, not recorded in the Gospels, which are found in Pauline literature. In addition to the saying which occurs in this address we may quote 1 Cor. vii. 10, "I give charge, and yet not I, but the Lord, that the wife depart not from her husband, and that the husband leave not his wife"; 1 Cor xi. 24, "This do in remembrance of Me"; "This do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me."

Cf. also the reference to his instructions in 1 Cor. vii. 12 and 25, as being his own, and not the Lord's, and the passage in 1 Thess. iv. 15–17, where the description of the Resurrection is ushered in with the words, "For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord."

Resch maintained that St. Paul was in possession of

[1] For a complete discussion of the reading see Westcott and Hort's *Greek Testament*, vol. ii., "Select Readings," p. 99, of which the above paragraph is an epitome.

an original Gospel called in ancient times *τὰ λόγια*, which was the main source of the Synoptic Gospels, and from which he derived the "Agrapha" which are found in his speeches and Epistles. This theory has, however, not met with any general acceptance.[1]

[1] See art. "Agrapha" in *Hastings' Bible Dict.*, vol. v.

BOOK III

THE SPEECHES OF THE TRIAL

INTRODUCTORY

WITH his arrival in Jerusalem on what proved to be his final visit to the Holy City the Apostle enters upon a new phase in his history, which continues, with only one interval, unto the very end of his life, when a martyr's death brings his work and sufferings to a close. The speeches of the period consequently assume a new character. Hitherto he had enjoyed absolute personal freedom, with the exception of a few hours' imprisonment at Philippi (Acts xvi. 23–40), and his movements had been untrammelled. He had moved freely in the world, without let or hindrance, beyond the fact that he was occasionally made the object of mob violence, and he had found in the Roman Empire, with its administration, its excellent system of roads and facilities for travel, the best possible sphere for the propagation of the Gospel of Christ. Along the whole length and breadth of it he had been able to proclaim to Jew and Gentle, Greek and barbarian, the message with which he had been entrusted by his Master. But a change now comes over the scene. He is deprived of his freedom, and becomes a prisoner, fighting bravely and desperately for life itself, whose one hope lies in his entire innocence of the crimes of which he is pitilessly accused. His speeches

become more personal in tone and character, but although they almost exclusively take the form of a defence of his own position, so closely are his own life and his Gospel interwoven, so inseparable is the connection between the Apostle and his Master, that his *Apologia pro vita sua* forms the truest *Apologia pro fide Christi*, and his speeches in his own defence constitute the strongest argument for the Gospel that he preaches, and for the cause of the Master that he serves. "I live, and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me" (Gal. ii. 20) are words which receive their fullest interpretation in the speeches of the trial. Before we discuss the speeches themselves, there are several points connected with the period and the record of it in the Acts which demand our attention.

THE FULNESS OF THE RECORD.—In studying this section of the Acts our attention is at once drawn to the *fulness of the record*, both in length and detail. This feature is particularly noticeable here, when we consider that one-fourth of the whole book is devoted to the narrative of two years of the Apostle's life, whereas the remaining three-fourths cover a period of close upon thirty years. This phenomenon is explained—

A. *By the presence of St. Luke during the greater part, if not the whole, of the incidents recorded in this portion of the history.* This is, however, strenuously denied by many critics on the ground that the "we" document breaks off with the arrival of the Apostle and his party at Jerusalem, and his reception by St. James in Acts xxi. 18, and is not resumed until Acts xxvii. 1, when the account of the memorable voyage is entered upon. Harnack[1] is emphatic upon this point, and Prof. Knowling[2] acknowledges that it would be rash to affirm

[1] Harnack, *St. Luke the Physician*, p. 144.
[2] Knowling, *Acts of the Apostles* (Exp. Greek Text), p. 21.

positively that he was present at the delivery of the speeches at Jerusalem, and seems rather to incline to the opinion that he may have been with the Apostle during some portion of the imprisonment at Cæsarea, and was there privileged to hear, from the Apostle's own lips, a summary of his speeches in Jerusalem and Cæsarea.

The strongest argument for St. Luke's presence with the Apostle during the greater part of this period is derived from the style of the narrative itself, which seems to betray unmistakable signs of the eye-witness. This is particularly the case in the vivid and circumstantial account of the attack in the Temple, and the subsequent riot, with its close attention to details, such as shutting the doors of the Temple (Acts xxi. 30), the Apostle being carried up the steps of the Castle by the soldiers (Acts xxi. 35), the beckoning with his hand unto the people (Acts xxi. 40), the silence when the crowd heard him speaking in Hebrew (Acts xxii. 2), the casting off of the garments, and the throwing up of dust into the air, when the Apostle's speech became obnoxious to them (Acts xxii. 23). The minuteness of the description of the plot, and its defeat, in Acts xxiii. 12–33, and the striking impression created by the pomp and magnificence which characterized the entry of Agrippa and Bernice into the audience-hall of Festus also point in the same direction.

Dr. Chase[1] adduces another argument in favour of the assertion that St. Luke was present during the Apostle's trial before Felix. He draws attention to the carefulness which marks the report of the opening speech of Tertullus, the complimentary sentences of which are preserved with a considerable degree of exactness, whereas when the main subject of the speech is reached,

[1] Chase, *Credibility of the Acts*, p. 111.

viz. the statement of the case against St. Paul, the grammatical construction is lost in three curt, short, relative clauses. The explanation of this, he maintains, consists in the fact that, at first, the listener is anxious to reproduce the exact words of the speaker, but that afterwards his attention is relaxed, and he is content with jotting down brief and disjointed notes of what he hears. From this he argues that we have probably here a transcript of actual notes, taken by St. Luke himself at the time.

Again, although the "we" is not found between Acts xxi. 20 and xxvii., there is no apparent break in the narrative, and no consciousness on the author's part that the intervening portion is lacking in weight and authority. The "we" is resumed perfectly naturally at the beginning of the voyage, as if the author's presence there was in no way unusual.

On the whole it seems fair to assume that he was with the Apostle during the events which are recorded to have taken place in Jerusalem, that he journeyed down to Cæsarea, either with the Apostle, or very soon afterwards, but did not necessarily remain with him during the whole of his imprisonment in that city. It was a well-known practice of the Apostle to dispatch some of his companions to visit the various Churches in which he was interested, and it is quite possible that he may have done this in the case of St. Luke, and that he rejoined St. Paul at Cæsarea, in time to accompany him on the voyage to Rome.

B. *Mr. Rackham*[1] sees in the fulness of the record a *deliberate intention on St. Luke's part to present the story of the trial of St. Paul as, in some ways,* (*a*) *parallel to the story of St. Peter*, as narrated earlier in the Acts, and (*b*) still more emphatically, a *replica of the Passion of our*

[1] Rackham, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 404 ff.

Lord, which he has recorded, with such wealth of detail, in the Third Gospel.

(*a*) *Parallelism with the story of St. Peter.* St. Paul, like St. Peter, addresses Jews at a Pentecost (Acts xxii. 1–21 and ii. 14–36), stands before the Sanhedrin (Acts xxiii. 1 and iv. 6), utters a sentence of judgment on an Ananias and a hypocrite (Acts xxiii. 3 and v. 4), and his career, like St. Peter's, is arrested by imprisonment in Jerusalem (Acts xxii. 24 and xii. 3).

(*b*) *A still closer resemblance with the account of the Passion, as given in the Gospel of St. Luke, is observable.* St. Paul, like his Master, is carried before the Council, and struck on the mouth (Acts xxiii. 2; St. Luke xxii. 64; St. John xviii. 22). In both cases the mob cries out "Away with him" (Acts xxii. 22 and St. Luke xxiii. 18). His fellow-countrymen deliver him to the Gentile Romans, even as our Lord was delivered to Pilate (St. Luke xxiii. 1). He is accused before a Roman Governor, and stands before a Herod (Acts. xxiv. 2; xxvi. 1; St. Luke xxiii. 1, 7), the accusers are the same in either case, the Sadducean priesthood (Acts xxiv. 1; St. Luke xxiii. 1, 13), the charge is the same, treason to Cæsar (Acts xxiv. 5; St. Luke xxiii. 2). Three times he is described as having done nothing worthy of death, by the Pharisees (Acts xxiii. 9), by Festus (Acts xxv. 25), and by Agrippa (Acts xxvi. 31, 32), which correspond with the declaration of our Lord's innocence by Herod and Pilate (St. Luke xxiii. 14, 15). As our Lord's trial was a means of the reconciliation of Herod and Pilate, so St. Paul's trial led to more intimate intercourse between Festus and Herod Agrippa.

C. *The fulness of the record is, however, best explained by the manifest purpose of St. Luke in publishing the Acts.* In this portion of the book he is reaching the climax of his work, and every point which tells in

favour of his central idea is pressed and emphasized. Now this central idea is discovered to lie in the way in which the relationship of the Christian system to the Roman authorities is pictured, and in the unique importance attached to the alleged absence of any hostility on the part of the Imperial officials to Christianity, as such. The whole trend of the narrative is to define the friendly relations which existed between the Christian religion, in the person of its greatest and most renowned exponent, and the Empire, as represented by the Imperial officials of the provinces. Thus, where the Apostle and his companions have been subjected to persecution and violence, it is generally at the hands of the mob, stirred up by the fierce jealousy of the Jews, as at Antioch in Pisidia (Acts xiii. 50), Iconium (Acts xiv. 5), Lystra (Acts xiv. 19). In Greek cities, again, it is the Jews and the rabble who are the cause of hostility, as at Thessalonica (Acts xvii. 5), and Berœa (Acts xvii. 13), and where official action is instituted against them, it originated with magistrates who were local and municipal officials, and not those of the Empire. As against this, in the list of punishments which the Apostle gives in 2 Cor. xi. 23–25, there are some which could not have been administered except by the Roman authorities, and these the historian, in pursuance of the definite purpose of the book, has kept out of sight. The Imperial officials, throughout the book, appear to be not only friendly, but are often the Apostle's one source of defence against the Jews, and this is represented as being true of officials of the highest standing, such as proconsuls and procurators. Gallio, at Corinth, contemptuously disregards the accusations of the Jews against the Apostles (Acts xviii. 14), while Festus acts justly and constitutionally towards him, and refuses to hand him over to the tender

mercies of the Council at Jerusalem. Even Felix took no active part against him, and is sympathetic towards his teaching, though his better feelings are ultimately overpowered by greed. With the officials of lower grade, such as the chief captain and the centurions, the Apostle is described as being on terms of the most friendly intercourse. Now the great care displayed throughout the book in emphasizing this attitude of Imperial officialdom towards Christianity, in the person of the great Apostle, must minister to a definite purpose on the part of the writer, and of the nature of this purpose there can be but one opinion. The Acts of the Apostles was intended by the writer not only as a manual of instruction for Christians in the progress and development of the Church, but it had another and more immediate object. It was definitely conceived as an *apologia* to the Roman authorities, based on a full recital of the policy pursued by the provincial officials of the Empire towards St. Paul. We are thus able to understand the anxiety displayed by the historian to demonstrate how absolute was the acquittal of the Apostle in those stages of the trial which preceded his appearance before the Imperial tribunal itself at Rome, how out of three Roman officials, two, viz. Claudius Lysias (Acts xxiii. 29) and Festus (Acts xxv. 25), had declared his innocence, while a third had shown him considerable favour. The climax of the whole book is reached in the very last word *ἀκολύτως*, "none forbidding him," a comprehensive phrase implying the whole character of the Roman policy at this period towards Christianity, as displayed by the Imperial officials towards St. Paul.[1] With this aspect of the purpose of the Acts is involved the problem of its date.

DATE OF THE ACTS.—A considerable body of author-

[1] McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 348.

ities assign the book to a period preceding the death of St. Paul, and maintain that it was intended to form a part of the Apostle's defence at the forthcoming trial. This is the view taken by Mr. Rackham[1] (following Blass) in the best, and most recent commentary on the Acts. This date would explain the apparently incomplete and unfinished condition of the book, and the absence of any reference to the Apostle's release, second trial, and subsequent martyrdom. Mr. Rackham argues strongly that a defence, such as is contained here, might have been useful at the Apostle's first trial, when the Imperial policy towards Christianity had not been defined, and was as yet not pronouncedly hostile, but could be of no avail, if it were written after the burning of Rome, and the persecution of Nero in 64 A.D.

The main body of opinion is, however, in favour of a date not earlier than 70 A.D., the date of the destruction of Jerusalem, before which event it is maintained to be quite impossible for the book to have been written. The Acts is manifestly a later production than the Third Gospel, and a comparison of St. Luke xxi. 20 with St. Mark xiii. 14, and St. Matt. xxiv. 15, would seem to establish the contention that the Gospel itself implies that the destruction of Jerusalem was already a *fait accompli*. Hence a date for the Acts previous to 70 A.D. is ruled out. Prof. Ramsay[2] emphasizes the apologetic character of the work, and is of opinion that it was written during a period of persecution, not under Nero, but under Domitian, somewhere about 80 A.D.[3] The unfinished character of the book is explained by the fact that St. Luke had in view a third book, which would carry the narrative to its natural conclusion.

[1] Rackham, *Acts of the Apostles*, Intro., p. 7.
[2] Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 309.
[3] *Supra*, p. 23.

This, he maintains, is supported by the use of πρῶτος in Acts i. 1, where the comparative πρότερος would have been employed, if only a second book had been contemplated. This intention was probably frustrated by the author's martyrdom under Domitian. He further argues that this section of the Acts, which contains only a record of the preliminary stages of the Apostle's trial, would be valueless for the purposes of defence, unless an account of the final trial before Cæsar was also added, and on that account alone a document containing the Apostle's story to the end was absolutely necessary for accomplishment of the author's purpose. His view of the Acts, in this connection and its sequel, may be summed up in the following quotation[1]: "It is an appeal to history against the immoral and ruinous policy of the reigning Emperor, a temperate and solemn record, by one who had played a great part in them, of the real facts regarding the formation of the Church, its steady and unswerving loyalty in the past, its firm resolve to accept the facts of Imperial government, its friendly reception by many Romans, and its triumphant vindication in the first great trial at Rome. It was the work of one who had been trained by St. Paul to look forward to Christianity becoming the religion of the Empire and of the world, who regarded Christianity as destined not to destroy but to save the Empire."

Is the Apostle's Attitude throughout this Section, and, more especially, his Action as described in Acts xxi. 26, inconsistent with his Declared Conduct and Teaching elsewhere?—Considerable difficulty has been felt with regard to the Apostle's action as described in Acts xxi. 26, and it is maintained that this incident, and the whole tone of his defence, with the tremendous stress laid by him on his

[1] Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 309.

Judaism in Acts xxii. 3, xxiii. 6, and in xxvi. 4, are so absolutely at variance with his practice and teaching elsewhere, that the historical value of the section is seriously discounted. The reputation ascribed to the Apostle in the interview with St. James in Acts xxi. 21, is argued to be, in the main, a true representation of facts, and his subsequent action, in acceding to the request of the Elders, was therefore, to use no stronger term, inconsistent, and irreconcilable with his conduct and teaching now for many years. There seems no room to doubt that the Apostle, during the latter part of his Missionary career, had been living in practical disregard of Jewish ceremonial law. During his prolonged visits to Corinth and Ephesus he had lived on terms of the closest intimacy with the Gentile sections of the Christian Churches in those cities, becoming, in all essentials, "a Gentile to Gentiles," and this in itself was an absolute violation of Jewish law and custom. He had also made the same demand on his Jewish converts, and his teaching on this point was no less definite than his personal conduct. Cf. Gal. i. 9, "If any man preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed," and also his bold rebuke of St. Peter in Gal. ii. 14–21. With this may be compared the whole tone of the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, where the law is condemned as a curse from which Christ redeemed us, and its impotence for justification strongly affirmed. Again, in Gal. v. 12 and Phil. iii. 2, the most significant of the legal ordinances is compared to heathen mutilations, and the Apostle's contempt reaches its climax. After this it seems hardly credible that the Apostle could ever attempt to prove to the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem that he was "walking orderly, keeping the law." According to Hausrath[1].

[1] Hausrath quoted in Farrar's *St. Paul*, p. 562.

"It is just as credible as that Luther in his old age should have performed a pilgrimage to Einsiedeln, with peas in his shoes, or that Calvin, on his deathbed, should have vowed a gold-embroidered robe to the Holy Mother of God, as to have imagined that the Apostle could have subjected himself to all the details of Jewish ritual as described in this chapter." But, in spite of its apparent force, this criticism is hardly relevant. The Apostle had long ago reached the stage which regarded the observance of Jewish law, or the lack of it, as, in themselves, of no importance whatsoever. He had, at no time, taught or insisted that the Christian Jew should abandon the customs associated with the Law of the Fathers, and he has evidently no prejudices of his own against observing such customs, when any good purpose can be attained thereby. It was only when subjection to the Mosaic Law, with all its ceremonial and ritual ordinances, was demanded as the essential preliminary to admission to the Christian Church, and Judaism set up as the one avenue of approach to Christ, that the Apostle became adamant, and refused all compromise, and it is from this point of view that his conduct and his teaching should be studied. He lived as "a Gentile among Gentiles," because any other course would have prevented his free intercourse with those "whom he had begotten in Christ," and would have infallibly led them to believe that the Law, that he himself observed, was also an integral part of the Gospel that he preached. Christianity would thus have become a mere adjunct, tied on to the skirts of Judaism. The strength and incisiveness of his language in the Epistles is to be explained in the same way. It was only because the Judaizing party in the Church insisted upon the absolute necessity of its observance upon the part of the Gentile convert, that he emphasizes the true character

of the Law, its transitoriness, its educational function only, its absolute impotence in the sphere of justification, and its hostility to freedom and comprehensiveness, which are the watchwords of the Gospel of Christ. It is difficult, therefore, to charge the Apostle with inconsistency and lack of honesty, because, on this particular occasion, he became "a Jew to Jews" for the sake of the peace of the Church at Jerusalem, and to ensure his own personal safety. The Apostle's principles with regard to this question are best illustrated by his manner of dealing with the matter of the circumcision of Timothy, on the one hand, and that of Titus, on the other. In Acts xvi. 1–3 we are told that the Apostle took with him, as one of his companions on the Second Missionary Journey, Timothy, a native of Lystra, the son of a Greek father, and a Jewish mother, who had hitherto not been circumcised, although he had been well instructed in the Jewish Scriptures by his mother and grandmother (2 Tim. iii. 15). Before departing from Lystra, St. Paul caused Timothy to be circumcised, as a necessary preliminary to his becoming the companion of his Missionary travels.

In Gal. ii. 3 the Apostle himself tells us that Titus, a Greek, who was a member of his company during his visit to Jerusalem narrated in that chapter, was not circumcised, in spite of a considerable amount of pressure brought to bear in that direction.

How are we to reconcile the apparently conflicting methods of procedure on these two occasions?

In the case of Timothy no principle was involved. The Apostle had him circumcised on his own initiative, because he was anxious that, in the work that lay before him, there should be no element that would give rise to unnecessary hostility on the part of those whom he wished to approach as Christ's herald and missionary.

Now, it was his invariable rule to commence his operations among the Jewish communities which were to be found in all Græco-Asiatic cities, and, through them, to gain access to the Gentile world. The presence of a notorious uncircumcised semi-Jew in his *entourage* (Timothy's father was evidently well known in the cities of Galatia, Acts xvi. 3) would have immediately destroyed all hopes of anything like a cordial welcome from the Hellenistic Jews. This would have seriously retarded his work, and would have endangered the success of his mission, and, as the cause of Christ was at stake, the lesser need gave way to the greater, and Timothy was circumcised.

In the case of Titus the conditions were altogether different. Here, Titus, a Gentile pure and simple, was all but compelled to undergo circumcision, to satisfy the scruples of the extreme Judaizing party at Jerusalem, which maintained that submission to the Mosaic Law was essential to the Gentile convert to Christianity. There is now no compromise on the part of the Apostle, because the catholicity of the Christian Church, and the equality of all men in Christ, whether Jew or Gentile, are in question. In spite of all pressure to the contrary St. Paul firmly refused to have him circumcised.

The Apostle's policy in these two instances quoted enable us to explain away the inconsistency alleged to exist between his procedure and method of defence, as narrated in this section of the Acts and his mode of life, and the character of his teaching on other occasions. We may add that it is difficult to understand with what motive the narrative of the ritual procedure in the Temple could have been inserted at all in the Acts, if it is not a statement of actual fact, because the plan suggested by the Elders did not have the desired effect, and the Apostle was attacked, in spite of it, and his

life only saved by the intervention of the Roman soldiers.

THE CONDITION OF JUDÆA AT THIS PERIOD.—A brief account of the condition of Judæa at this period will enable us to have a clearer understanding of the drift of the narrative. Up to the death of Herod the Great, Judæa formed one of those portions of the Roman Empire which were governed, not by Imperial officials, but by a subject king. After Herod's death, however, with only a short interval, when Agrippa I. reigned at Cæsarea (Acts xii. 19–23), it was governed by a Roman procurator, who had his seat of government at Cæsarea, but who, in turn, was subject to the Imperial Legate of Syria.

The narrative in the Acts introduces us to two of the procurators of Judæa, Felix and Festus, with both of whom the Apostle is brought into close contact, but we are only concerned with one of them at present, viz. Felix.

FELIX was one of two Greek brothers, Pallas being the other, who were, at one time, the slaves of the mother of Claudius, the Emperor, but who eventually received their freedom, and, in the case of Pallas, attained to a position of considerable influence with the Emperor himself. The younger brother had been connected with Judæa before his appointment to the supreme command of the district, and had held a subordinate military office under Cumanus, the then Governor. During this period there was a serious struggle between the Jews and the Samaritans, in which Cumanus intervened, with the result that many Jews were slaughtered by the Roman soldiers. In consequence of this the Jews appealed against Cumanus to the Governor of Syria, and he was summoned to Rome to answer for his conduct before the Imperial tribunal, and was deprived of his command, which the influence of Pallas was able to

procure for his brother, Felix. The character of Felix has been summed up in a masterly way in an epigram of Tacitus, "Jus regium servili ingenio exercuit."—"He exercised the power of a King with the temper of a slave" (Tac., *Hist.*, v. 9).

He had contracted an adulterous marriage with Drusilla, the sister of Herod Agrippa, whose husband, the King of Emesa, was still living. The eulogy pronounced on his rule by Tertullus in Acts xxiv. 2, 3 was justified to some extent. He had been instrumental in clearing the country of the *banditti* which formerly infested it, and had put down a serious attempt at revolution on the part of a so-called prophet, who came out of Egypt, and for whom the Apostle was taken by the chief captain, Claudius Lysias, when he delivered him from the hands of the mob, in the precincts of the Temple. The prophet, according to Josephus, had gathered no less than thirty thousand people to witness the fall of the walls of Jerusalem, as those of Jericho had once fallen. This multitude was attacked by a detachment of Roman soldiers and scattered with great loss of life, but the leader himself escaped. The general result of the policy of Felix was, however, to create a condition of great disorder, and of intense hatred of Roman domination, which manifested itself in the rise of a strong Nationalist spirit. The general disorder was demonstrated by the prevalence of assassination, even in the very streets of Jerusalem. The notorious *sicarii*, who played such a prominent part in the Jewish wars of independence, are now mentioned for the first time, and Felix himself is charged with having utilized their daggers to bring about the death of Jonathan, the high priest. It was into this seething mass of discontent and distorted patriotism, which had been inflamed into an absolute hatred of all foreign and Gentile influences,

that St. Paul, with his sinister reputation among the Jews of the Dispersion, as an Apostate from the faith of the Fathers and a disseminator of the pernicious theory of the equality of Jew and Gentile before God, now ventured himself, with results which might have been foreseen, and which we shall proceed to relate in the sequel.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN JERUSALEM.—The primary motive of the Apostle's visit to Jerusalem was to convey a monetary contribution from the Churches of Achaia and Macedonia to the poor of the Church in the Holy City. There was in Jerusalem, at this time, no representative of the Twelve. Some were dead, and others had been scattered to different parts of the world in the accomplishment of the mission entrusted to them by our Lord "of preaching the Gospel to every creature." The oversight of the Church had, therefore, been committed into the hands of St. James, the brother of the Lord, and to the college of Elders. It is a Church which, according to St. James, numbers its members by thousands, an estimate which probably includes the Christians in the surrounding cities of Judæa as well as those of Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 20). The chief characteristic of these thousands is their intense Judaistic zeal, and their sympathy with Jewish law and tradition is, at least, as strong as their love for the new religion they have adopted. It is, therefore, not difficult to realize the sentiments with which such a community would regard St. Paul and his methods, and this very natural prejudice would be further increased by misrepresentations and exaggerations on the part of the Jews of the Dispersion, who were to be found at Jerusalem, at this time, in great numbers, and who had become only too well acquainted with the Apostle's practice and teaching in the course of his Missionary tours.

The rulers of the Church in Jerusalem are aware of this anti-Pauline sentiment, although they also realize that it is based, to some extent, on a misunderstanding of the Apostle's principles. They are anxious to prevent any outbreak of hostility against him, and they therefore suggest that he should take part in a ritual ordinance, connected with the fulfilment of a Nazarite vow, and thus demonstrate to the Christian community in Jerusalem his unmistakable adherence to Jewish law and custom. For reasons which have already been stated in this chapter, St. Paul accedes to this request, with results of a most momentous character, which materially affect the remainder of his natural life.

CHAPTER I

THE SPEECH ON THE STEPS OF THE CASTLE
(Acts xxi. 27 to xxii. 29)

27 And when the seven days were almost completed, the
Jews from Asia, when they saw him in the Temple, stirred
28 up all the multitude, and laid hands on him, crying out,
Men of Israel, help: This is the man, that teacheth all men
everywhere against the people, and the law, and this place:
and moreover he brought Greeks also into the Temple,
29 and hath defiled this holy place. For they had before seen
with him in the city Trophimus the Ephesian, whom they
30 supposed that Paul had brought into the Temple. And all
the city was moved, and the people ran together: and they
laid hold on Paul, and dragged him out of the Temple:
31 and straightway the doors were shut. And as they were
seeking to kill him, tidings came up to the chief captain of
32 the band, that all Jerusalem was in confusion. And forth-
with he took soldiers and centurions, and ran down upon
them: and they, when they saw the chief captain and the
33 soldiers, left off beating Paul. Then the chief captain came
near, and laid hold on him, and commanded him to be
bound with two chains; and inquired who he was, and what
34 he had done. And some shouted one thing, some another,
among the crowd: and when he could not know the cer-
tainty for the uproar, he commanded him to be brought
35 into the castle. And when he came upon the stairs, so it
was, that he was borne of the soldiers for the violence of
36 the crowd; for the multitude of the people followed after,
crying out, Away with him.

37 And as Paul was about to be brought into the castle, he saith unto the chief captain, May I say something unto thee? 38 And he said, Dost thou know Greek? Art thou not then the Egyptian, which before these days stirred up to sedition and led out into the wilderness the four thousand 39 men of the Assassins? But Paul said, I am a Jew, of Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city: and I beseech 40 thee, give me leave to speak unto the people. And when he had given him leave, Paul, standing on the stairs, beckoned with the hand unto the people; and when there was made a great silence, he spake unto them in the Hebrew language, saying—

22 Brethren and fathers, hear ye the defence which I now make unto you.

2 And when they heard that he spake unto them in the Hebrew language, they were the more quiet: and he saith—

3 I am a Jew, born in Tarsus of Cilicia, but brought up in this city, at the feet of Gamaliel, instructed according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers, 4 being zealous for God, even as ye all are this day: and I persecuted this Way unto the death, binding and 5 delivering into prisons both men and women. As also the high priest doth bear me witness, and all the estate of the elders: from whom also I received letters unto the brethren, and journeyed to Damascus, to bring them also which were there unto Jerusalem in bonds, 6 for to be punished. And it came to pass, that, as I made my journey, and drew nigh unto Damascus, about noon, suddenly there shone from heaven a great light 7 round about me. And I fell unto the ground, and heard a voice saying unto me, Saul, Saul, why perse- 8 cutest thou me? And I answered, Who art thou, Lord? And he said unto me, I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom 9 thou persecutest. And they that were with me beheld indeed the light, but they heard not the voice of him 10 that spake to me. And I said, What shall I do, Lord? And the Lord said unto me, Arise, and go

into Damascus; and there it shall be told thee of all
11 things which are appointed for thee to do. And when
I could not see for the glory of that light, being led by
the hand of them that were with me, I came into Da-
12 mascus. And one Ananias, a devout man according
to the law, well reported of by all the Jews that dwelt
13 there, came unto me, and standing by me said unto
me, Brother Saul, receive thy sight. And in that very
14 hour I looked up on him. And he said, The God of our
fathers hath appointed thee to know his will, and to see
the Righteous One, and to hear a voice from his mouth.
15 For thou shalt be a witness for him unto all men of
16 what thou hast seen and heard. And now why tarriest
thou? arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins,
17 calling on his name. And it came to pass, that, when I
had returned to Jerusalem, and while I prayed in the
18 Temple, I fell into a trance, and saw him saying unto
me, Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem:
because they will not receive of thee testimony con-
19 cerning me. And I said, Lord, they themselves know
that I imprisoned and beat in every synagogue them
20 that believed on thee: and when the blood of Stephen
thy witness was shed, I also was standing by, and con-
senting, and keeping the garments of them that slew
21 him. And he said unto me, Depart: for I will send
thee forth far hence unto the Gentiles.

22 And they gave him audience unto this word; and
they lifted up their voice, and said, Away with such a
fellow from the earth: for it is not fit that he should
23 live. And as they cried out, and threw off their gar-
24 ments, and cast dust into the air, the chief captain
commanded him to be brought into the castle, bidding
that he should be examined by scourging, that he might
know for what cause they so shouted against him.
25 And when they had tied him up with the thongs, Paul
said unto the centurion that stood by, Is it lawful for you
to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned?

26 And when the centurion heard it, he went to the chief captain, and told him, saying, What art thou about to
27 do? for this man is a Roman. And the chief captain came, and said unto him, Tell me, art thou a Roman?
28 And he said, Yea. And the chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this citizenship. And Paul
29 said, But I am a Roman born. They then which were about to examine him straightway departed from him: and the chief captain also was afraid, when he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him.

ST. PAUL IN THE TEMPLE.—The suggestion of St. James and the Elders that, in order to satisfy the Judaistic zeal of the Judaizing party in Jerusalem, and to avoid disturbances, St. Paul should take part in a ceremonial act, and thus prove that "he walked orderly, keeping the law" (Acts xxi. 24), led to consequences which were the very reverse of what had been anticipated. It was while he was in the Temple, towards the close of the period dictated by the conditions of the vow with which he had associated himself, that the riot took place, which led to his arrest by the Roman authorities, and to his subsequent imprisonment.

THE TEMPLE.—The Temple here (τὸ ἱερόν) is not the Temple proper, but includes the whole pile of buildings which covered the hill on which the sacred enclosure was situated. This area was divided into two sections, an outer and an inner court. The outer court was open to the public, and was designated "the Court of the Gentiles," but the inner was sacred to the Jews, and any stranger seeking admission did so at the peril of his life, the death penalty, in this instance, being enforced by Roman law. The division between the two courts consisted of a barrier on which were exhibited notices and warnings, and, inside the barrier, of a wall, with doors, which admitted into the jealously reserved inner

sanctuary. Outside the Temple, and overlooking it, stood the Castle of Antonia, connected with the Temple by a flight of stairs leading from the outer court of the Gentiles. The Castle was the head-quarters of the Roman garrison of Jerusalem, at this time commanded by Claudius Lysias, the chief captain. The Jews themselves were responsible for keeping order in the Temple itself, and a special corps of Levites, under the command of an official designated "the Captain of the Temple," had been organized for the purpose. Owing, however, to the disturbed condition of Jerusalem during recent years, where risings, and riots, and massacres, had become so common, and more especially on occasions like the great national festivals, when the Jews gathered into the city from all parts of the Empire, it had been found necessary to station a body of troops on the walls and roofs of the Temple buildings, to be at hand in case of an emergency. The fact that the feast of Pentecost was being celebrated at this period explains the near vicinity of the troops when the riot took place.

THE RIOT IN THE TEMPLE, AND THE APOSTLE'S ARREST.—It was on the seventh and last day of the observance of the ritual connected with the vow that the Apostle was recognized in the inner or sacred court of the Temple by certain non-Christian Jews from Asia Minor. His immunity up to this point was probably due to his face not being familiar to the Jews of Jerusalem, who had therefore not recognized him. To the Asiatic Jews, burning for revenge upon the hated Christian Apostate who had so frequently insulted them and their faith, such an opportunity as now presented itself was too good to lose. They therefore immediately lay hands on him, appeal to the crowd in the Temple for assistance, and accuse him of being "the man that teacheth all

men everywhere against the people and the law and this place" (Acts xxi. 28), and, to make his case still more glaring, they accuse him of having profaned the Holy Place by introducing a Greek, in the person of Trophimus, within the inner court of the Temple, a charge for which there was no foundation. The crowd, inflamed by the recital of these wrongs, rapidly becomes an infuriated mob, and the Apostle is in imminent danger of losing his life. In order to avoid shedding blood in the Holy Place itself, St. Paul is dragged into the outer court, and the doors of the inner sanctuary are closed by the Levite guard. The mob now proceeds to work its will upon the Apostle, and he is only saved by the timely arrival of the chief captain, to whom information of the uproar had been rapidly conveyed, and who, with the assistance of a body of troops, rescues St. Paul, and takes him into custody. Unable to obtain any definite information as to the identity of his prisoner, and being under the impression that he has at last captured the notorious Egyptian who had given so much trouble to the authorities, and seeing that his life was not worth a moment's purchase amidst that furious crowd, he commanded him to be brought into the Castle, where he might examine him at leisure. When the Apostle and his escort reach the Castle steps, the chief captain is surprised to find himself addressed in Greek by the prisoner, who courteously requests to be allowed to address the throng. Realizing that he is not dealing with an Egyptian fanatic, but with a cultured Jew, and, what was more to the point, with a citizen of a most important Græco-Asiatic city, he gives immediate consent, whereupon the Apostle proceeds to speak to the multitude in the Syro-Chaldaic dialect, which was the vernacular in Palestine, and among the Jews of the Eastern Dispersion.

The Speech.

The speech itself is, in the main, a reply to the charges formulated by the Asiatic Jews in the Temple. "This is the man that teacheth all men everywhere against the people and the law and this place."

It consists of three sections—

(*a*) An emphatic assertion of his Jewish training and sympathies (Acts xxii. 3–5).

(*b*) The story of his conversion as the explanation of the mystery how Saul the Jewish persecutor became Paul the Christian Apostle (Acts xxii. 6–16).

(*c*) A declaration that his special mission to the Gentiles is based on the specific command of Christ Himself (Acts xxii. 17–21).

(*a*) He opens his defence by asserting his Jewish birth and training. Born, it is true, out of Judæa, in the city of Tarsus, in Cilicia, he spent the greater part of his life in Jerusalem, where he received his education, and learnt all that he knows at the feet of Gamaliel, the most famous of all their teachers. Far from being the Apostate that he is reputed to be, he is an out-and-out Jew, brought up in the very strictest school of the Pharisees—a Jew, who, in the intensity of his patriotism, persecuted even to death the Christian Church of which he is now a member and Apostle.

With this section we may compare Phil. iii. 5, 6, where the same points are emphasized—his Jewish birth, his training in the school of the Pharisees, and his zeal for the law even to the point of persecution. Cf. also Gal. i. 14, "I advanced in the Jews' religion beyond many of mine own age among my countrymen, being more exceedingly zealous for the traditions of my fathers"; Gal. i. 13, "For ye have heard of my manner in time past in the Jews' religion, how that beyond measure I

persecuted the Church of God." Also 2 Cor. xi. 22, "Are they Hebrews? so am I. Are they Israelites? so am I. Are they the seed of Abraham? so am I."

(*b*) The story of the conversion is then related as supplying the motive of the change in his character and conduct. As "the conversion" is dealt with in detail in a separate chapter, this section of the speech does not call for further notice at this point.

(*c*) His special mission to the Gentiles, with its manifold consequences, which have aroused all their antipathy and hatred towards himself, was not due to his own initiative, but was undertaken in obedience to a direct revelation from Christ Himself. This revelation was vouchsafed to him in that very Temple, where he was praying at the time, he, who was now actually accused by them of profaning that Holy Place! Coming from such a source it was a command that brooked no denial. He had a great love for his own nation, and he sought to find in his own former life as a persecutor an excuse for their refusal to listen to him. No plea would, however, avail before Christ, and the mandate was peremptory and definite. "Depart, for I will send thee forth far hence unto the Gentiles."

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE SPEECH.—A. The *objections to the authenticity* of the speech are chiefly in relation to that portion of it which deals with the story of the conversion, and these will be discussed in the chapter devoted to that subject. The following criticisms of the speech as a whole should be noted. Davidson[1] maintains that the speech contains not one single Pauline expression, and that the whole of it is in St. Luke's manner, while a number of words which are "only Lucan," such as συνεῖναι, αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ, εὐλαβής, appear in it.

[1] Davidson, *Intro. to the New Test.*, vol. ii. p. 121.

The explanation of this surely lies in the fact that the speech, as we have it, is a translation from the Aramaic, in which it was originally delivered. It is natural, therefore, that the transcript should show indications of the translator's style rather than that of the actual author. Prof. Bacon[1] acknowledges that the scene as described in the Acts is true to life, but argues that the speech itself is unhistorical, and incompatible with the Epistle to the Galatians. McGiffert[2] remarks that the reference to the return to Jerusalem after the conversion can hardly be historical.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF THE AUTHENTICITY.—B. *The speech affords a striking illustration of the Pauline tact.* The main interest of the speech, apart from its supreme value as an autobiography, consists in the manner in which *it illustrates the tact and conciliatory attitude* of the Apostle. In this connection the following details may be mentioned.

1. *The use of Aramaic.* The Greek language, which he habitually used, and which he seems to have abandoned on this occasion only, would only serve to emphasize the truth of the charge that he was unfaithful to the customs and traditions of his own people, and that all his sympathies were with what was foreign and Greek, and, therefore, with what was hateful to them. The use of Aramaic, their own native tongue at this period, immediately marked him out as one of themselves. He realized the magic that lies in the affinity of language, a secret which is familiar enough to those who, like myself, possess a native tongue, but habitually employ another.

2. *The appeal to kinship in the speech.* "Brethren and fathers." "You are my very brethren, bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh. Your fathers were mine too."

[1] Bacon, *Story of St. Paul*, p. 200.
[2] McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 350.

3. The compliment to the zeal of his audience in Acts xxii. 3.

4. The reference to Ananias in v. 12, and the emphasis laid on his reputation among the Jews. "A devout man according to the law, well reported of by all the Jews that dwelt there."

5. He carefully avoids the use of terms that would cause unnecessary offence, never speaks of Christ, and, on the other hand, introduces conceptions which would appeal to a Jewish audience, such as "the Righteous One" and "the Way."

6. He defends the refusal of the Jews to receive his message, because of their knowledge of his former life in Judaism.

7. He defers all mention of the crucial question, his mission to the Gentiles, until its introduction can no longer be avoided.

THE EFFECT OF THE SPEECH.—His conciliatory attitude, his use of Aramaic, and the avoidance of any topic that could cause unnecessary offence, had, in spite of their irritation, ensured him a quiet hearing until he reached the critical point of his defence, when his assertion of his mission to the Gentiles by the direct command of Christ fanned all their latent dislike into fury, and completely exhausted their patience.

In their frenzy they fling their garments into the air, which is now thick with dust, and the Temple area resounds with their impassioned cries. "Away with him. Away with such a fellow from the earth. It is not fit that he should live."

The chief captain, seeing that the presence of his prisoner could only lead to further disorder, and noticing the dangerous attitude of the crowd, ordered him to be brought into the safe custody of the Castle. He was still completely in the dark as to the cause of the

unmistakable fury of the mob, because the speech in Aramaic would be quite unintelligible to him. Wishing, therefore, to obtain more definite information, he gave orders that the Apostle should be examined by torture, a custom which was in vogue until comparatively recent times.

St. Paul's assertion of his Roman citizenship. The preparations for the ordeal were all but complete, and the Apostle actually tied to the "triangle," when, to the complete astonishment of the centurion in charge of the "flogging" party and of the chief captain, to whom the information was immediately conveyed, he declared himself to be a Roman citizen, and protested strongly against the treatment that was about to be meted out to him. The chief captain having, by further examination, ascertained the correctness of his claim, gave orders that the preparations for the torture should be immediately abandoned, and the Apostle was kept in custody to await further developments. The assertion of his Roman citizenship marks a definite epoch in St. Paul's career. He has just delivered an apologetic speech, in which his defence was based on a passionate declaration of his Jewish birth, Jewish training, and Jewish zeal, but it had been of no avail, and his life would have paid forfeit, had not the Roman power stepped in and saved him. He has no longer a place among his own people. From henceforth he must seek for safety and shelter under the ægis of the mighty power of Imperial Rome, and even there he must use to the full the privilege which is his, if he is to obtain anything like justice. It is with Paul, the Roman Christian, rather than with Paul, the Jew, that we have to deal to the end of the story.

CHAPTER II

THE SPEECH BEFORE THE COUNCIL
(Acts xxii. 30 to xxiii. 10)

30 But on the morrow, desiring to know the certainty, wherefore he was accused of the Jews, he loosed him, and commanded the chief priests and all the council to come together, and brought Paul down, and set him before them.

23 And Paul, looking stedfastly on the council, said—

Brethren, I have lived before God in all good conscience until this day.

2 And the high priest Ananias commanded them that stood
3 by him to smite him on the mouth. Then said Paul unto him—

God shall smite thee, thou whited wall: and sittest thou to judge me according to the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law?

4 And they that stood by said, Revilest thou God's high
5 priest? And Paul said—

I wist not, brethren, that he was high priest: for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of a ruler of thy people.

6 But when Paul perceived that the one part were Sadducees, and the other Pharisees, he cried out in the council—

Brethren, I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees: touching the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question.

7 And when he had so said, there arose a dissension between the Pharisees and Sadducees: and the assembly was divided.
8 For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither

9 angel, nor spirit: but the Pharisees confess both. And
there arose a great clamour: and some of the scribes of the
Pharisees' part stood up, and strove, saying, We find no evil
in this man: and what if a spirit hath spoken to him, or
10 an angel? And when there arose a great dissension, the
chief captain, fearing lest Paul should be torn in pieces by
them, commanded the soldiers to go down and take him
by force from among them, and bring him into the castle.

THE OCCASION OF ITS DELIVERY.—The speech before the Council, of which we have only the briefest summary in the Acts, bristles with difficulties, and has given rise to more differences of opinion than any one of the Apostle's recorded utterances. It was delivered before the Supreme Council of the Jews, sitting at Jerusalem, the day after the events described in the preceding chapter. The meeting of the Council had been summoned by Claudius Lysias, the chief captain, in order that his prisoner might be examined before it in his presence, and that he might thus derive some definite information as to his identity and character, and as to his connection with the riot in the Temple on the previous day.

The Apostle's defence, and the sitting of the Council, were brought to an abrupt termination by the action of the former, who took advantage of the divided state of parties in the Sanhedrin, and, by his declaration of his Pharisaic training and sympathies, and of his belief in "the resurrection of the dead," ranged the Pharisaic faction on his side. This naturally provoked the party of the high priest which was practically composed of Sadducees, and the Council was plunged into the greatest disorder. The chief captain, fearing lest his prisoner should be torn in pieces by the contending parties, gave orders to the escort to remove him forcibly from their midst, and he was once again restored to the safe custody of the Castle.

The Speech.

The speech itself is composed of four distinct statements—

1. *A declaration of his own rectitude* (Acts xxiii. 1).

2. *A protest against the action of the high priest in ordering him to be struck* (Acts xxiii. 3).

3. *An apology* for the disrespectful character of the protest (Acts xxiii. 5).

4. *The crucial portion of the speech,* in which he passionately affirms that it was because of his belief in the essentially Pharisaic doctrine of "the resurrection of the dead" that he stood before them a prisoner that day (Acts xxiii. 7).

Points of Interest in the Speech.—In the speech itself there are several items which deserve attention.

(*a*) The use of the Pauline word "*conscience,*" πάσῃ συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ, "with all good conscience," in Acts xxiii. 1.

With this may be compared—

Acts xxiv. 16: "I exercise myself to have a *conscience void of offence* toward God and man."

Romans ix. 1: "My *conscience* also bearing me witness in the Holy Spirit."

2 Cor. i. 12: "For our glorifying is this, the testimony *of our conscience.*"

Still more striking are the coincidences with the Pastoral Epistles.

Cf. 1 Tim. i. 5: "Love out of a pure heart and *a good conscience.*"

1 Tim. i. 19: "Holding faith in a *good conscience.*"

1 Tim. iii. 9: "Holding the mystery of the faith in a *pure conscience.*"

2 Tim. i. 3: "I thank God whom I serve . . . *in a pure conscience.*"

(*b*) *The use of the word* πεπολίτευμαι, "I have lived as a citizen." The idea underlying this word is derived from his Roman citizenship, and is characteristic of the later stages of Paulinism, as the Apostle gradually became impregnated with Imperial ideas, cf. Phil. i. 27, "Only let your manner of life be worthy of Christ" (πολιτεύεσθε), and Phil. iii. 20, "Our citizenship is in heaven" (πολίτευμα).

Cf. also Acts xxi. 39, "I am a citizen of no mean city" (πολίτης), and Acts xxii. 28, "With a great sum obtained I this citizenship" (πολιτεία).

In the speech the ideas of citizenship and loyalty are transferred from the Empire, with which they are first associated, to the Jewish commonwealth, with which he is anxious to identify himself in his defence before the Council. "I have lived my life in absolute loyalty to the Jewish system which is the commonwealth of God."[1]

(*c*) *The prophecy with regard to the high priest* (Acts xxiii. 3). This prophecy met with a startling fulfilment. At the destruction of Jerusalem Ananias hid himself in a sewer, but was dragged out by the Roman soldiers and slaughtered by them at the mouth of the sewer.[2]

(*d*) *The remark of the Pharisees quoted in Acts xxiii.* 9, "What if a spirit hath spoken unto him or an angel," would seem to imply that only a portion of the Apostle's speech has been preserved, and that his defence must have been much more formal and complete than the narrative would lead us to suppose. The reference to the "angel" or "spirit" probably arose from the fact that St. Paul had here, as on other similar occasions, entered upon a description of his conversion, with its significant incidents, the vision of the risen Christ on the

[1] Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 112.
[2] Josephus, *Bell Jud.*, ii. 17, 19.

road to Damascus, and the voice which pleaded with him. This would naturally lead up to the protestation of his faith in "the resurrection of the dead," which gained for him the sympathy of the Pharisees, but provoked the bitter hostility of the high priest and his Sadducean following.

DIFFICULTIES CONNECTED WITH THE NARRATIVE AND SPEECH.—Many recent authorities agree in rejecting the whole episode as unhistorical, although they differ as to the reasons upon which the rejection is based.

(*a*) Clemen [1] and Moffatt [1] consider that the legal procedure is inconsistent with Claudius Lysias' knowledge of St. Paul's Roman citizenship, and that such an action as subjecting a Roman to the jurisdiction of a court, purely Jewish in its constitution, is inexplicable.

(*b*) McGiffert,[2] on the other hand, sees no difficulty in St. Paul being brought before the Sanhedrin, but denies the historicity of the incident, on the ground that the conduct of the Pharisees at the Council is unnatural and impossible. According to him, the Apostle's reputation as one who "everywhere taught against the people and the law and the Temple" would arouse the most bitter enmity towards him among the Pharisees, and the declaration of his belief in the Resurrection would certainly not outweigh their intense prejudice against him, or bring about such a revulsion of feeling in his favour as is implied in the narrative. The differences between the two great parties in Judæa were principally of a political character, and such a trivial matter as the expression of belief or disbelief in any doctrine could not possibly have condoned, among the Pharisees, St. Paul's serious offences against the law and the traditions of the fathers. He

[1] Moffatt, *Hist. New Test.*, p. 675 ; Knowling, *The Testimony of St. Paul to Christ*, p. 427.
[2] McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 350 note.

maintains, further, that the idea of the special hostility of the Sadducees towards Christianity here, and in Acts iv. 3, is not based upon adequate facts, and that St. Luke was not present during the hearing before the Council, but derived his impression of what took place there from the letter of Claudius Lysias to Felix, quoted in Acts xxiii. 28, 29.

ANSWERS TO THE OBJECTIONS.—As against these criticisms, it may be urged—

(*a*) That our knowledge of the exact relationship that existed between the Roman provincial officials and the Jewish courts is so vague and indefinite, that it is not safe to dogmatize on the point. The analogy of our Lord's trial would not lead us to infer that the procedure described in this case is impossible. Our Lord was transferred from one court to another, now from the high priest's to Pilate's, then from Pilate's to Herod's, and back again from Herod's to Pilate's, in such a way as to render it by no means improbable that the action of Claudius Lysias, in this case, was in accordance with local custom. This view is supported by the policy pursued by Festus towards the Apostle, when he suggested that he should be brought once again before the Sanhedrin, a suggestion which was the direct motive of St. Paul's "appeal unto Cæsar."

(*b*) Prof. McGiffert's criticism is apt to lose sight of the intensity of the hostility between Jewish parties, to which all contemporary history bears witness. Neither does he seem to have realized the difference in the point of view from which the two parties would, at first, regard Christianity. It would appear that the Christians in Jerusalem had not hitherto been viewed unfavourably by the Pharisaic party as a whole, and the strict adherence of the Judaic Christians to the Jewish law had, no doubt, contributed materially to this result. On the other hand,

the Sadducees would regard with the bitterest hostility any movement associated with religious enthusiasm, which was calculated to foster popular fanaticism, and to cause disorder. The avoidance of anything which might justify Roman interference, and the preservation of peace at any price, were the watchwords of the party. There were also special reasons why Christianity should be more than usually hateful to them. They formed the great majority of the high priest's party, and it was the high priest and his following who had delivered Christ to the Romans, and at whose door, therefore, was laid the subsequent tragedy of the Crucifixion. A religious sect, which called itself after the name of a notorious fanatic and criminal, whom they themselves had hounded to his death, and which based its very existence upon the doctrine of "the resurrection from the dead" of that criminal, with its natural corollary, "the resurrection from the dead of all flesh," would therefore be specially obnoxious to them. There was, then, a considerable difference between the aspects which Christianity, and more especially Judaic Christianity, would assume in the eyes of the two Jewish parties. The Pharisees were, at present, not absolutely hostile, but the Sadducees had proved themselves the most determined opponents of Christianity from the moment of its inception. It is, therefore, not inconceivable that the scene in the Council Chamber, as described in the narrative, should have taken place, or that the Apostle, with his knowledge of the intensity of party spirit, should have availed himself of it, and thus extricated himself from a position of very grave danger.

THE MOST SERIOUS DIFFICULTY IS IN CONNECTION WITH ST. PAUL HIMSELF.—The most serious difficulties are connected, not with Claudius Lysias, or with the Pharisees, but with the Apostle himself. How

are we to recognize in the Paul of this episode the Paul with whom we have become so familiar in his other speeches?

1. *Absence of tact.* There seems to be an absolute lack of that tact, that striking desire to conciliate his audience, and of that power to adapt himself to his surroundings which are such characteristic features in all his other utterances. Even before he has been addressed by the officials of the Council and formally put on his trial, he breaks out into what appears, at first sight, to be an egotistical protestation of his own innocence and rectitude. There is none of that respect for constitutional authorities which we expect from him, and not a trace of that Pauline humility, that depreciation of himself, which is so beautiful and touching a trait in his character. The members of the Council are his equals, his "brethren," and he would remind them that, not so long ago, he sat among those who are to be his judges now.

2. *Is his action on this occasion, which seems to be dictated "by policy rather than by principle,"*[1] *worthy of him, and is the episode, which demands such conduct on the part of the Apostle, conduct which is entirely contrary to his notorious honesty and straightforwardness, credible?* The best, and only, defence of the Apostle's conduct on this occasion lies in the fact that he recognized that it was absolutely useless to make his appeal on a direct issue. He had no confidence whatsoever in the justice of a Jewish tribunal where he was concerned, and he felt instinctively that if the case were argued in all its detail, nothing but condemnation could ensue at the hands of such a body. Now he had the strongest objections possible to being deprived of his life under such conditions. To die for his Master was a *finale* to which he looked forward with the greatest equanimity,

[1] Rackham, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 430.

but to be sacrificed to the personal hatred and fanaticism of his fellow-countrymen was not in accordance with his idea of what was fitting. There was still work to be done for Christ and His Church, Rome was yet to be reached, and then, in God's good time, "he was ready to be offered," but after a trial before the Imperial tribunal, where justice might still be looked for. Can we wonder, therefore, that he was prepared to utilize any pretext which would render his judges powerless, and deliver him out of their hands?

His appeal to the Pharisees can also be defended on other grounds. The Pharisees still represented all that was best in Judaism, and, as a party, they were not devoid of good and honourable men, of whom Gamaliel, on another historic occasion, furnishes a worthy example. Neither had the Apostle himself cut himself absolutely off from Pharisaism, in so far as it meant zeal for the highest objects of the Jewish faith,[1] and there was, therefore, nothing essentially incongruous in such an appeal as we have described here.

It has been suggested[2] that St. Paul acknowledges in Acts xxiv. 20, 21, that his policy on this occasion was not justifiable, but it seems to the present writer that the words are capable of a perfectly natural interpretation which does not involve this proposition.

3. *The retort upon the high priest, and the subsequent apology.* The absence of tact which we have already noted is conspicuous in his retort upon the high priest, which is hardly in harmony with the meekness and long-suffering of the ideal Christian, nor consistent with the teaching of the Apostle himself, although it may be defended on general grounds.

How are we to explain the apology, "I wist not he

[1] Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 111.
[2] Archbishop Benson, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 557.

was high priest"? (*a*) It is sometimes explained as a simple statement of fact, due to his defective eyesight, which prevented his recognizing the high priest. If we accept the theory that "the thorn in the flesh" took the form of a malady which affected his eyesight, this may be the correct explanation. But even then it is not quite satisfactory. The Apostle, from his close familiarity with the Council and its surroundings, must have known that the president's chair was occupied by the high priest, although he was not able to verify the fact from his own observation. And, again, what becomes of the prophecy in Acts xxiii. 3, "God shall smite thee," if it was uttered impersonally, without reference to the identity of the man who had ordered him to be struck?

(*b*) Another explanation is that the president need not have been the high priest himself. The office of high priest had now ceased to be a "life" appointment, and there were several "ex-high priests" in existence, any one of whom might occasionally occupy the presidential chair. This, again, does not remove the difficulty, because, whether he were high priest or ex-high priest, he was president of the Supreme Court for the time being, and, therefore, demanded honour and respect. In either case the tone of the Apostle's protest was culpable from this point of view.

(*c*) The explanation which seems to present the best solution of the difficulty is that suggested by Mr. Rackham,[1] which is based on a specific meaning being attached to the word "know" in this context. According to him, the word here has the meaning which is found in 1 Thess. v. 12, "to *know* those that labour among you," and as used by our Lord in St. Matt. xxv. 12, "I *know* you not," and vii. 23, "I never *knew* you," where it denotes the recognition or acknowledgment of persons; or again,

[1] Rackham, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 430.

where it is associated with the deeper, or more real understanding of events, as when our Lord's murderers "*knew*" not what they were doing (St. Luke xxiii. 34), or St. Peter "*knew* it was true which was done by the Angel" (Acts xii. 9). The Apostle's utterance here is a confession of error. He had not reflected it was the high priest. He had spoken in the passion of the moment, without sufficient thought and reflection, and his remark is a sincere expression of his fault, and a confession of sorrow for it.

The authenticity of the narrative is borne out by the character of the episode itself. If the incident is not genuine, it is not easy to understand why St. Luke should have inserted it in the course of his narrative. It is quite evident that he possessed the highest admiration and reverence for the Apostle, and that he is anxious to impress his readers in the same direction. Why then gratuitously insert an incident which, to say the least of it, could not possibly enhance the Apostle's reputation, if that incident never took place at all, as the critics affirm? The fact that the incident is recorded, in spite of its comparatively unfavourable testimony to the Apostle's conduct, is the strongest proof of the faithfulness of St. Luke as a historian, and this is acknowledged by no less an authority than Prof. Mommsen.

CHAPTER III

THE SPEECH BEFORE FELIX (Acts xxiv. 1–27)

1 And after five days the high priest Ananias came down
with certain elders, and with an orator, one Tertullus; and
2 they informed the governor against Paul. And when he was
called, Tertullus began to accuse him, saying—

Seeing that by thee we enjoy much peace, and that by
3 thy providence evils are corrected for this nation, we accept
it in all ways and in all places, most excellent Felix,
4 with all thankfulness. But, that I be not further tedious
unto thee, I intreat thee to hear us of thy clemency a few
5 words. For we have found this man a pestilent fellow, and
a mover of insurrections among all the Jews throughout the
6 world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes: who
moreover assayed to profane the Temple: on whom also we
8 laid hold: from whom thou wilt be able, by examining
him thyself, to take knowledge of all these things, whereof
9 we accuse him. And the Jews also joined in the charge,
affirming that these things were so.

10 And when the governor had beckoned unto him to
speak, Paul answered—

Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been of many
years a judge unto this nation, I do cheerfully make my
11 defence: seeing that thou canst take knowledge, that
it is not more than twelve days since I went up to wor-
12 ship at Jerusalem: and neither in the Temple did they
find me disputing with any man or stirring up a crowd,
13 nor in the synagogues, nor in the city. Neither can they
prove to thee the things whereof they now accuse me.
14 But this I confess unto thee, that after the Way which

they call a sect, so serve I the God of our fathers, believing all things which are according to the law, and
15 which are written in the prophets: having hope toward God, which these also themselves look for, that there shall be a resurrection both of the just and unjust.
16 Herein do I also exercise myself to have a conscience
17 void of offence toward God and men alway. Now after many years I came to bring alms to my nation, and
18 offerings: amidst which they found me purified in the Temple, with no crowd, nor yet with tumult: but there
19 were certain Jews from Asia—who ought to have been here before thee, and to make accusation, if they had
20 aught against me. Or else let these men themselves say what wrong-doing they found, when I stood before
21 the council, except it be for this one voice, that I cried standing among them, Touching the resurrection of the dead I am called in question before you this day.

22 But Felix, having more exact knowledge concerning the Way, deferred them, saying, When Lysias the chief captain
23 shall come down, I will determine your matter. And he gave order to the centurion that he should be kept in charge, and should have indulgence; and not to forbid any of his friends to minister unto him.

24 But after certain days, Felix came with Drusilla, his wife, which was a Jewess, and sent for Paul, and heard him con-
25 cerning the faith in Christ Jesus. And as he reasoned of righteousness, and temperance, and the judgement to come, Felix was terrified, and answered, Go thy way for this time; and when I have a convenient season, I will call
26 thee unto me. He hoped withal that money would be given him of Paul: wherefore also he sent for him the oftener,
27 and communed with him. But when two years were fulfilled, Felix was succeeded by Porcius Festus; and desiring to gain favour with the Jews, Felix left Paul in bonds.

INTRODUCTORY.—After the unsatisfactory termination of the inquiry before the Sanhedrin, a desperate

attempt was made by a body of forty *sicarii* to get rid of the Apostle by foul means. The design of the assassins was, however, communicated to the chief captain by a nephew of St. Paul's, and that officer decided to ensure the safety of his prisoner by sending him, in charge of a powerful military escort, to Felix, the procurator, at Cæsarea, with a letter containing a detailed account of the prisoner's case. Five days after the arrival of St. Paul in that city the prosecutors appear upon the scene in the shape of a deputation from the Sanhedrin, headed by Ananias the high priest, and accompanied by a professional advocate, Tertullus, and no time is lost in bringing the Apostle to trial.

THE TRIAL BEFORE FELIX.—*The speech for the prosecution.* The proceedings open with a speech by the counsel for the prosecution, whose remarks are prefaced by the customary compliment to the judge, the *captatio benevolentiæ*, which Felix's record hardly seems to justify.[1] The reference to the "peace" enjoyed during his tenure of office can only be described as a caricature of the state of affairs prevalent at this period. It has been conjectured[2] that Tertullus was a Roman lawyer, and that his speech as we have it here is a translation from the Latin, and that the Greek words πρόνοια and ἐπιείκεια are simply Greek renderings of such familiar Latin terms as *providentia* and *clementia*. The speech itself is decidedly Roman in character, being exceedingly brief, and very much to the point. It consists of three definite charges against the Apostle—

1. That he is a menace to the peace of the Empire, being not only a pestilent fellow, a nuisance to the public, but also actually guilty of stirring up insurrection

[1] See Book III, Intro., p. 177.
[2] Rackham, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 447.

and strife among the Jews throughout the Roman dominion (Acts xxiv. 5 (*a*)).

2. That he was a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes (Acts xxiv. 5 (*b*)).

3. That he profaned the Temple (Acts xxiv. 6).

The first count, if true, constituted a very serious offence against Roman law and administration, and amounted to a charge of high treason, and, therefore, placed the Apostle in a position of great peril.

The second count, inasmuch as it was concerned solely with a religious question, was not so serious in its aspect, as far as the Imperial authorities were concerned, because the policy of the Empire was, as yet, extremely tolerant of new religions, and some officials had manifested considerable impatience when called upon to decide such questions.

The third charge was comparatively of little importance, because it was palpably false and was not supported by any evidence, although the offence itself was punishable by death, even in the case of a Roman.

ES ST. PAUL'S DEFENCE.—The Apostle's speech for the V. defence follows closely that of the counsel for the O prosecution. He, like Tertullus, begins with a *captatio benevolentiæ*, and congratulates himself on the fact that he is to plead his cause before one who has been a judge among the Jews for many years, and who is, therefore, thoroughly conversant with their methods, and eminently capable of understanding the points at issue. He then proceeds to meet each of the charges brought against him separately.

I 1. He replies to the accusation of causing sedition and disorder by a brief narrative of his stay in Jerusalem, previous to his arrest. He had been in that city a week only, and he challenges his accusers to bring

12 forward any evidence to prove that, during that period,
he had provoked any public discussion, collected a
13 crowd, or caused any disturbance whatsoever, either in
the Synagogues, or in the city.

14 2. As far as the second charge was concerned, he
pleaded guilty to it. He freely admitted that he was a
leader of what his accusers were pleased to call "the
sect of the Nazarenes," but he had yet to learn that
this was an offence against the Jews themselves, much
less against the laws of the Empire. This very religion,
this "Way of living" which they attacked, consisted in
the worship of the same God as the Jews worshipped,
in adherence to their law, and in belief in their Scrip-
15 tures. The goal to which he looked forward was also
theirs, the aim and end of life the same in his case as
theirs, viz. "the resurrection of the just and the unjust."
16 The practical requirements of the religion of Christ
and of the Jews were identical, the acquisition of a pure
conscience, arising from the conviction of duty performed
towards both God and man.

17 3. Furthermore, it was the very performance of duties
connected with the ethical and ritual side of Judaism
that brought him primarily up to Jerusalem, after an
absence of many years. He had come up to convey to
his poorer brethren in that city the proceeds of a collec-
tion made on their behalf by the Churches of Achaia
18 and Macedonia, and he actually went into the Temple to
discharge certain obligations connected with a ceremonial
vow, and was there recognized by certain Jews from
19 Asia. Far from causing any riot or disorder himself, it
was these very men, who now accused him, who stirred
up the riot, and he challenged the prosecution to pro-
duce these men to prove, either that he had caused
a riot, or that he had profaned the Temple. His
20 sole offence, he protested now, as he had protested

once before the Council, when he received the support
21 of at least the half of that body, was that he proclaimed his belief in the "resurrection of the dead."

The result of the inquiry. At this point, Felix, who, assisted by his intimate acquaintance with the Jewish character gathered from a prolonged residence among them, was able to realize that the hostility to the Apostle was based on religious and national grounds only, and that he was guilty of no offence against the Empire, interrupted the hearing. He had not the moral courage, however, to give effect to his own unbiassed judgment, which would have meant the unconditional release of St. Paul. He was unwilling to offend the Jews, and yet his sense of justice was too strong to allow him to hand the Apostle to their tender mercies. On the pretext, therefore, that the evidence of Claudius Lysias was indispensable, he adjourned the proceedings, and gave instructions that St. Paul should be kept in custody, but that every indulgence should be granted to him, and that his friends should have free access to him. Thus Felix attempted, by kindly treatment, to reconcile his conscience to the fact that he was keeping in bonds a prisoner whom he knew he ought to set free.

The Apostle, by his bearing at the trial, and by the force of his defence, had produced a considerable impression on Felix, which made him anxious to see and hear more of him, and of the faith that he preached, a sentiment which was shared by his wife Drusilla (see the Bezan Text, Acts xxiv. 24). The Apostle eagerly welcomed such an opportunity of delivering his message, and he expounded the ethical side of Christianity with such power to the adulterous pair, and preached so eloquently, and with such passion, of righteousness, self-control, and the judgment to come, that Felix was terrified, and brought the audience to an abrupt

termination. In spite of the terrors produced by a guilty conscience he still paid frequent visits to the Apostle, and "communed with him" in private, but his motives were not altogether unmixed. He had hoped that St. Paul would bribe him to procure his release, but his expectations were not realized, so that when, at the end of two years, he was recalled to Rome, he left him in custody, in order to curry favour with the Jews, who, at the time of his recall, were arraigning him for misgovernment.

NOTES ON THE NARRATIVE OF THE TRIAL BEFORE FELIX.—1. *The use of the word "Nazarenes"* (Acts xxiv. 5) is suggestive. The word "Nazareth" (and its derivatives) never appears in the Acts, except in sections dealing with Judæa and its confines. Cf.—

Acts vi. 14: "Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place," which is one of the charges brought against St. Stephen, in Jerusalem.

Acts ii. 22: "Jesus of Nazareth" in St. Peter's speech at Pentecost.

Acts iii. 6: "In the name of Jesus of Nazareth," St. Peter's remark to the lame man at the beautiful Gate of the Temple.

Acts iv. 10: "In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth" in St. Peter's speech before the Council in Jerusalem.

Acts xxvi. 9: "The name of Jesus of Nazareth" in St. Paul's speech before Agrippa at Cæsarea.

2. *The description of St. Paul by Tertullus as* πρωτοστάτης is quite in accordance with the position assigned to him by St. Luke.

3. *The question of reading* in Acts xxiv. 6–8 is interesting. The Revised Version, and most recent authorities, omit the passage which the Authorised Version has inserted (following the Bezan Text): "Whom we would have judged according to our law, but the chief captain

came upon us, and with great violence took him away out of our hands, commanding his accusers to come unto thee." Now in the Revised Version all mention of Claudius Lysias is rescinded, and the person to be examined is, not the chief captain, but the Apostle himself. Even in the Textus Receptus the relative in παρ' οὗ probably refers back to the ὃν in v. 6 and not to Claudius Lysias in v. 7.

4. *The possibility that the Apostle in Acts xxiv. 21 is confessing a fault* and acknowledging that his policy before the Council was not creditable, has already been referred to in the previous chapter.

COINCIDENCES WITH PAULINE DOCUMENTS.—1. *The object of the visit to Jerusalem*, which was "to bring alms to my nation" is quite in accord with the tenor of the Epistles; cf. 2 Cor. viii. 1–24. The reference has all the greater significance, because the "collection for the saints" is nowhere else mentioned in the Acts.

2. *The use of the word "conscience"* (συνείδησις), in Acts xxiv. 16. (See the previous chapter.)

3. The central fact of his preaching is "the resurrection of the dead" (Acts xxiv. 15, 21).

4. The word ἀπρόσκοπος (void of offence) is a strictly Pauline word, and occurs in the New Testament only here and in 1 Cor. x. 32 and Phil. i. 10.

CRITICAL OBJECTIONS.—*Prof. Bacon*,[1] arguing against the authenticity of the episode, acknowledges that the contrasted speeches show considerable literary skill, but that the real plea is not St. Paul's case before Felix. It is an argument on behalf of Christianity before the Flavian Emperors, and, as such, the composition of the narrator. Prof. McGiffert[2] also maintains that the defence contains utterances out of line with St. Paul's

[1] Bacon, *Story of St. Paul*, p. 203.
[2] McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 351 note.

character and teaching, and, therefore, the speech is only partially his. Among the statements which McGiffert finds difficulty in accepting as genuinely Pauline are—

1. The reference to the "resurrection of the just and unjust" in Acts xxiv. 15. He maintains that there is no trace elsewhere in Pauline literature of the doctrine of "the resurrection of the unjust," and that when the Apostle is dealing with the resurrection in 1 Cor. xv. and in 1 Thess. iv. his conception is strictly limited to the resurrection of the "righteous." Dr. Charles, in a conversation, expressed his opinion that the presence of this phrase in the report of the speech cast considerable suspicion on its genuineness. Bishop Lightfoot,[1] however, in his comment on Phil. iii. 11, 12, explains the particular form *τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν* as referring to the resurrection of the righteous to a new and glorified life, as contrasted with *ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν* (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 42), "the resurrection of the dead" whether good or bad, an explanation which considerably weakens McGiffert's objection.

2. Both Bacon and McGiffert argue that it is incredible that the Apostle, when referring to "the collection for the saints" in Jerusalem, should have given the false impression conveyed in the expression "the poor of mine own nation," when it was meant only for *Christian* Jews, and the difficulty is increased when he describes himself as frequenting the Temple in connection with his mission as alms-bearer, as implied in the following verse (Acts xxiv. 17, 18). This difficulty may be solved by surmising that St. Luke, in reproducing the speech, left out a portion of the original utterance, in which the "collection for the saints" was connected with the visit to Jerusalem, while the reference to his presence in the Temple was confined to the incident of the Nazarite vow.

[1] Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 151.

Dr. Hort,[1] however, suggests that the "offerings" of this verse refer to a vow undertaken by the Apostle himself, which necessitated the offering of certain sacrifices in the Temple, and adduces the analogy of Acts xviii. 18, "for he had a vow"—a suggestion which neutralizes the argument of inconsistency brought against the speech.

St. Luke's presence at the trial. The most satisfactory conclusion would seem to be that St. Luke was not present at the hearing before Felix, and that we have here a speech which is Pauline in essence, but which betrays signs of a later hand. The occurrence of the two only-Lucan words (ἐστώς and ἁγνίζεσθαι) in the speech points in the same direction.

[1] Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 109.

CHAPTER IV

THE APPEAL UNTO CÆSAR (Acts xxv. 1–12)

1 Festus therefore, having come into the province, after
2 three days went up to Jerusalem from Cæsarea. And the
chief priests and the principal men of the Jews informed him
3 against Paul; and they besought him, asking favour against
him, that he would send for him to Jerusalem; laying wait
4 to kill him on the way. Howbeit Festus answered, that
Paul was kept in charge at Cæsarea, and that he himself
5 was about to depart thither shortly. Let them therefore,
saith he, which are of power among you, go down with me,
and if there is anything amiss in the man, let them accuse
him.

6 And when he had tarried among them not more than
eight or ten days, he went down unto Cæsarea; and on the
morrow he sat on the judgement-seat, and commanded Paul
7 to be brought. And when he was come, the Jews which
had come down from Jerusalem stood round about him,
bringing against him many and grievous charges, which
8 they could not prove; while Paul said in his defence—

> Neither against the law of the Jews, nor against the temple, nor against Cæsar, have I sinned at all.

9 But Festus, desiring to gain favour with the Jews, answered
Paul, and said, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be
10 judged of these things before me? But Paul said—

> I am standing before Cæsar's judgement-seat, where I ought to be judged: to the Jews have I done no wrong,
11 as thou also very well knowest. If then I am a wrong-doer, and have committed anything worthy of death, I

refuse not to die: but if none of those things is true, whereof these accuse me, no man can give me up unto them. I appeal unto Cæsar.

12 Then Festus, when he had conferred with the council, answered, Thou hast appealed unto Cæsar: unto Cæsar shalt thou go.

FESTUS.—After the recall of Felix to Rome to answer the charge of misgovernment, the procuratorship of Judæa was bestowed upon Porcius Festus, of whom nothing is known beyond what we learn from Josephus and the Acts. In personal character he seems to have been a great improvement upon his predecessor. The portrait given in the Acts is that of a high official anxious to perform the duties of his exalted position conscientiously, and with the equity and justice so characteristic of Rome and the Roman Government, at their best. His tenure of office was brief, as he died in the year 62, and was marked by the dispersion of the *sicarii*, and by the dispute concerning the wall of the Temple, which was put up to interrupt the view of its courts from the new wing of Agrippa's palace.

His first act, upon his arrival in his command, was to proceed to Jerusalem, where the high-priestly party took immediate advantage of his presence among them to lodge a further information against St. Paul. They also requested that he should be sent up to Jerusalem for trial, doubtless on the plea that evidence would be more easily procurable there than in Cæsarea, but their real object was to have him ambushed and assassinated on the journey up. It would appear, from Festus' own description of the incident in Acts xxv. 15, 16, that they actually had the temerity to ask that judgment should be pronounced upon him offhand, without the usual formality of a trial. Festus gave a curt refusal to both demands, adding that it was not in accordance with the

law and custom of Rome to deliver a prisoner into the hands of his accusers without giving him a fair hearing, and that Paul would be detained in Cæsarea until he himself arrived at his seat of government, when he could be brought to a formal trial.

ST. PAUL BEFORE FESTUS.—After a stay of eight or ten days in Jerusalem, he proceeded to Cæsarea, and, on the day after his arrival, took his seat in the procurator's court, and summoned the prisoner to his presence, where his accusers, who had in the meantime also arrived from Jerusalem, repeat the charges which they had already formulated against him before Felix. Once again he is accused of being guilty of offences (1) against the law of the Jews, (2) against the Temple, and (3) against Cæsar, all of which charges he emphatically denies, and in support of which the prosecution is unable to produce any evidence. The character of the charges seemed to Festus, who showed no tendency to treat his prisoner with any degree of injustice, to be more suitable for consideration by a Jewish than by an Imperial tribunal, seeing that they were principally concerned with questions of Jewish law and religion. He therefore suggested to St. Paul that the case should be transferred to Jerusalem, where he could be tried before the Sanhedrin, while his own presence at the hearing would guarantee that justice should be done to him. It is manifest from this suggestion that he attached but slight importance to the charge of treason to the Empire, which would have been much too serious a matter to be entrusted to the decision of an inferior court.

The Apostle had already indignantly repudiated the charges brought against him, and had strongly asserted his innocence of any offence against the law, the Temple, or against Cæsar, and his reply to this suggestion of Festus is a definite assertion of his rights as a

Roman citizen, and a peremptory appeal to Cæsar. After consultation with the officials of the court Festus announced that the appeal was allowed, and the proceedings were closed.

ST. PAUL'S RELATIONS WITH THE EMPIRE.—In a previous chapter[1] it was pointed out that one of the main objects of St. Luke in publishing the Acts was to offer an apology for Christianity, and to represent the treatment of the Apostle and of Christianity by the Roman authorities in the most favourable light, and to describe the relationship existing between them as being of the most friendly description. But although this is on the whole a correct representation of the trend of the work, there is undoubtedly a change and development in the Apostle's conception of the Empire, and of its relation to himself and to the Church, as the narrative proceeds.[2] This change is, no doubt, partly due to the improved treatment of himself by the Roman authorities. During the earlier Missionary journeys he had been treated none too kindly by the Roman provincial officials. At Antioch in Pisidia (Acts xiii. 50) the magistrates had driven him out of the city, at Iconium they had failed to protect him, and at Lystra they had allowed him to be stoned, and that this treatment had left a deep impression on his mind is evident from the reference, towards the very close of his life, in 2 Tim. iii. 11. The mention of the rods in 2 Cor. xi. 25 refers to punishments at the hands of Roman lictors. At Philippi he and Silas had been scourged and imprisoned, and it was only an appeal to his rights as a citizen that had brought them deliverance. At Thessalonica he had been accused of treason to the Empire, and was condemned by the magistrates in his absence, and forbidden to return to the city, a pro-

[1] See Book III, Introductory, p. 169.
[2] Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 426 ff.

ceeding for which he could find no language too strong. It is "Satan" that hinders his return to continue his work among his Thessalonian converts (1 Thess. ii. 18). Meanwhile fresh events cause a considerable revulsion of feeling, and the change of sentiment is, in no small measure, due to the better and juster treatment he receives at the hands of the Roman officials. The conduct of Gallio, the proconsul at Corinth, the growth of a wider conception of what the Empire might mean in the extension of the kingdom of Christ, and the friendly intervention of the Asiarchs at Ephesus, have had their effect, and we see the change of sentiment and conception in actual process in 2 Thessalonians. While fully realizing the intrinsic character of the Empire, with its apotheosis of the Emperor, the Apostle recognizes that, for the present, it may have its uses, and these very valuable ones. By its provincial organization, and the facilities for travel offered by its magnificent roads, by its system of law which provided such a strong barrier against the inroads of barbarism and disorder, by the protection it affords him personally against the machinations of the Jews, and by its very toleration of Christianity, the Empire, as the Apostle now conceives it, must form an admirable vehicle for the propagation of the Gospel, and a most useful handmaid for the Church.

He never loses sight, however, of the essential enmity between the two systems. He speaks, therefore, in 2 Thessalonians of the Empire as the "restrainer," but its true nature was yet to be revealed (2 Thess. ii. 3–10). The enmity of the Jews is also leading him to place more and more reliance upon the protecting arm of Rome, and the action of the chief captain in twice delivering him from imminent death at the hands of an infuriated mob of Jews only serves to strengthen this

tendency. The plot of the *sicarii*, and the chief captain's anxiety to protect him add still another element, and it is not difficult to realize that when he found himself in the safe custody of the Romans and treated with every indulgence, he had no desire to be once again handed over to the tender mercies of the Jews. The cleavage between him and his fellow-countrymen had of late been widening with great rapidity; he had lost all confidence in their sense of justice, and he rightly regarded the whole community at Jerusalem as imbued with a consuming hatred for him, and as having but one desire, which was to destroy him by any expedient that might present itself. When he, therefore, saw the protection of Rome about to fail him by Festus' suggestion that he should again appear before a Jewish tribunal, there was but one resource left him, an appeal to the very fount of justice, and a claim to be placed under the ægis of Cæsar himself. "I appeal unto Cæsar."

PROF. MCGIFFERT ON THE APPEAL.[1]—Prof. McGiffert argues that St. Paul appealed to Cæsar, not because he feared the result of a trial before a Jewish tribunal, but because he was not confident that the result of a trial in Judæa, under any conditions, would lead to his acquittal. If his fears were confined to the Jews alone, why not appeal to have the case tried by Festus himself in the procurator's court in Cæsarea, as he had every right to, and thus save all the expense and trouble which the transference of the case to Rome involved? The appeal to Rome was due to the fact that he felt that there was too much truth in the charges, that the evidence that would be brought against him at Jerusalem and Cæsarea would prove too strong, and that the justice of Festus might feel bound to condemn him. Therefore the Apostle decided to appeal to Cæsar, and to have the

[1] McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age*, p. 354.

venue of the trial removed to Rome, where he would, at any rate, be far removed from Jerusalem and all its hostile influences. The argument so frequently brought forward, that the appeal to Rome was based on his desire and purpose to visit the Imperial city, is dismissed by Prof. McGiffert as puerile. The visit to Rome could have been arranged without any difficulty when he had once secured his freedom.

In reply to this criticism it is sufficient to point out that the whole tenor of the narrative seems to dispose of it effectually. There is no indication whatsoever—in fact all evidence is in the contrary direction—that the Apostle had any doubts concerning his absolute innocence of the crimes with which he is charged. At every hearing, his answer is an emphatic denial of all the charges, and a peremptory challenge to his accusers to produce any evidence to prove their case. There is not the slightest sign of any hesitation on the Apostle's part as to the ultimate issue of the trial, granted a fair hearing. His anxiety arises solely from his complete want of confidence in the justice of any Jewish tribunal, combined with the fact that he has no absolute certainty that, even in the proconsular court, perfect equity will be observed. His treatment at the hands of Felix had inspired him with not too much confidence in the integrity of a Roman procurator, and he has already observed that even Festus, just though he may be on the whole, is too ready to be swayed by his desire to conciliate the Jewish authorities.

To put an end, therefore, to all his doubts and anxieties, he has recourse to the one remedy left him—an appeal to take his stand before the court of the Emperor himself, where Jewish influences can play no part, and where the case will be tried on its merits. It

is not impossible that the desire to see Rome may have had some slight influence upon his decision. A trial at Cæsarea or Jerusalem gave him but a small chance of ever seeing the Imperial city, whereas an appeal to Cæsar must infallibly bring him there, although it might be as a prisoner in chains.

THE APPEAL UNTO CÆSAR.—What is the exact meaning of the expression "to be judged before me" used by Festus in Acts xxv. 9? Does it mean a trial before the Jewish council, in Festus' presence as a guarantee of a fair hearing for the prisoner, or does it mean that Festus himself will try the prisoner in Jerusalem, where evidence will be more easily forthcoming than at Cæsarea? In the former case the Apostle claims his right as a Roman citizen to have the case tried by a Roman and not by a Jewish court. In the second case it is an appeal from the Roman court of the procurator to the supreme Imperial court, and betrays distrust even of the inferior Roman tribunal, when subject to Jewish influences.

THE FINANCIAL POSITION OF ST. PAUL AT THIS PERIOD.—It has been suggested by Prof. Ramsay[1] that St. Paul must have had command of considerable financial resources at this period. He had undertaken to pay the expenses connected with the vow of the four Nazarites (Acts xxi. 23), and there is no mistaking the marked respect which is paid him by the Roman officials, whether in Jerusalem, Cæsarea, on the voyage, or even in Rome itself. The very fact that Felix hopes that he may receive a bribe from him, as the price of his release, is a proof that he was at any rate reputed to be in possession of money, and his confinement in the palace of Herod in the enjoyment of the indulgences allowed by Felix, would prove no slight expense. At

[1] Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 310 ff.

Rome he is able to live in his own hired dwelling, in a position of comparative independence. The appeal itself, if it were to be effective, would mean a large expenditure of money, for the case of a poor man would stand but a very small chance of being considered at all. Now this condition of affairs is in direct contrast to what we know to have been his financial position during the years preceding his visit to Jerusalem. At Thessalonica, Corinth, and at Ephesus, he had worked with his own hands, that he might minister to his own needs and those of his companions (1 Thess. ii. 9; 1 Cor. iv. 12; ix. 6; Acts xx. 34).

The change in the situation may be explained in one of two ways. Ruling out St. Luke and the Churches as possible sources, it may be suggested—

1. That the Apostle had hitherto abstained from touching his own estate, but that the situation was now so critical that such use of it was justified, or—

2. That he had become reconciled to his family who had disowned him on account of his conversion, and that his danger had brought them to his support. (His nephew's conduct in the matter of the Jewish plot suggests that he was then on friendly terms with some members of his family.) He may also have inherited money by the death of a relative.

Prof. Bacon's [1] suggestion that the Churches in Judæa had refused to accept the contribution of the European Churches (there being nothing said as to its presentation in the narrative in the Acts), and that St. Paul afterwards utilized it for his own necessities, is interesting only as far as it demonstrates the utter inability of that critic to appreciate the character of the Apostle.

[1] Bacon, *Story of St. Paul*, p. 195.

CHAPTER V

THE SPEECH BEFORE HEROD AGRIPPA
(Acts xxv. 13 to xxvi. 32)

13 Now when certain days were passed, Agrippa the king
14 and Bernice arrived at Cæsarea, and saluted Festus. And
as they tarried there many days, Festus laid Paul's case
before the king, saying, There is a certain man left a
15 prisoner by Felix: about whom, when I was at Jerusalem,
the chief priests and the elders of the Jews informed me,
16 asking for sentence against him. To whom I answered,
that it is not the custom of the Romans to give up any man,
before that the accused have the accusers face to face, and
have had opportunity to make his defence concerning the
17 matter laid against him. When therefore they were come
together here, I made no delay, but on the next day sat
down on the judgement-seat, and commanded the man to
18 be brought. Concerning whom, when the accusers stood
up, they brought no charge of such evil things as I sup-
19 posed; but had certain questions against him of their own
religion, and of one Jesus, who was dead, whom Paul
20 affirmed to be alive. And I, being perplexed how to in-
quire concerning these things, asked whether he would go
21 to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these matters. But
when Paul had appealed to be kept for the decision of the
emperor, I commanded him to be kept till I should send
22 him to Cæsar. And Agrippa said unto Festus, I also
could wish to hear the man myself. To-morrow, saith he,
thou shalt hear him.

23 So on the morrow, when Agrippa was come, and Bernice,

with great pomp, and they were entered into the place of hearing, with the chief captains, and the principal men of the city, at the command of Festus Paul was brought in.
24 And Festus saith, King Agrippa, and all men which are here present with us, ye behold this man, about whom all the multitude of the Jews made suit to me, both at Jerusalem and here, crying that he ought not to live any longer.
25 But I found that he had committed nothing worthy of death: and as he himself appealed to the emperor I de-
26 termined to send him. Of whom I have no certain thing to write unto my lord. Wherefore I have brought him forth before you, and specially before thee, king Agrippa, that, after examination had, I may have somewhat to
27 write. For it seemeth to me unreasonable, in sending a prisoner, not withal to signify the charges against him.

26 And Agrippa said unto Paul, Thou art permitted to speak for thyself. Then Paul stretched forth his hand, and made his defence—

2 I think myself happy, king Agrippa, that I am to make my defence before thee this day touching all the
3 things whereof I am accused by the Jews: especially because thou art expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews: wherefore I beseech thee to
4 hear me patiently. My manner of life then from my youth up, which was from the beginning among mine own nation, and at Jerusalem, know all the Jews;
5 having knowledge of me from the first, if they be willing to testify, how that after the straitest sect of our
6 religion I lived a Pharisee. And now I stand here to be judged for the hope of the promise made of God
7 unto our fathers; unto which promise our twelve tribes, earnestly serving God night and day, hope to attain. And concerning this hope I am accused by the Jews,
8 O king! Why is it judged incredible with you, if God
9 doth raise the dead? I verily thought with myself, that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of

10 Nazareth. And this I also did in Jerusalem: and I both
shut up many of the saints in prisons, having received
authority from the chief priests, and when they were put
11 to death, I gave my vote against them. And punishing
them oftentimes in all the synagogues, I strove to make
them blaspheme; and being exceedingly mad against
12 them, I persecuted them even unto foreign cities. Where-
upon as I journeyed to Damascus with the authority
13 and commission of the chief priests, at midday, O king,
I saw on the way a light from heaven, above the bright-
ness of the sun, shining round about me and them that
14 journeyed with me. And when we were all fallen to
the earth, I heard a voice saying unto me in the Hebrew
language, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is
15 hard for thee to kick against the goad. And I said,
Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus
16 whom thou persecutest. But arise, and stand upon thy
feet: for to this end have I appeared unto thee, to
appoint thee a minister and a witness both of the things
wherein thou hast seen me, and of the things wherein
17 I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from the people,
18 and from the Gentiles, unto whom I send thee, to open
their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light,
and from the power of Satan unto God, that they
may receive remission of sins and an inheritance
among them that are sanctified by faith in me.
19 Wherefore, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto
20 the heavenly vision: but declared both to them of
Damascus first, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the
country of Judæa, and also to the Gentiles, that they
should repent and turn to God, doing works worthy of
21 repentance. For this cause the Jews seized me in the
22 Temple, and assayed to kill me. Having therefore
obtained the help that is from God, I stand unto this day
testifying both to small and great, saying nothing but
what the prophets and Moses did say should come;
23 how that the Christ must suffer, and how that he first

by the resurrection of the dead should proclaim light both to the people and to the Gentiles.

24 And as he thus made his defence, Festus saith with a loud voice, Paul, thou art mad; thy much learning doth
25 turn thee to madness. But Paul saith, I am not mad, most excellent Festus; but speak forth words of truth
26 and soberness. For the king knoweth of these things, unto whom also I speak freely: for I am persuaded that none of these things is hidden from him; for this
27 hath not been done in a corner. King Agrippa, believest
28 thou the prophets? I know that thou believest. And Agrippa said unto Paul, With but little persuasion thou
29 wouldest fain make me a Christian. And Paul said, I would to God, that whether with little or with much, not thou only, but also all that hear me this day, might become such as I am, except these bonds.

30 And the king rose up, and the governor, and Bernice,
31 and they that sat with them: and when they had withdrawn, they spake one to another, saying, This man doeth
32 nothing worthy of death or of bonds. And Agrippa said unto Festus, This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar.

HEROD AGRIPPA.—Shortly after Festus had assumed the reins of government as Governor of Judæa, a ceremonial visit was paid to him by Herod Agrippa the Second, accompanied by his sister, Bernice. This Herod Agrippa was the son of the Herod of Acts xii., who had put the Apostle St. James to death, and had laid hands on St. Peter with a similar intention. Originally King of Chalcis, under Roman suzerainty, he afterwards exchanged it for the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, to which Nero added several cities in Galilee and Perea. He was also appointed superintendent of the Temple. He had spent a considerable portion of his early life in Rome, and on several occasions had successfully used his influence with the Emperor on

behalf of his fellow-countrymen. His official position as superintendent of the Temple had, however, brought him into conflict with the high-priestly authorities, and matters were precipitated when, in his new palace in Jerusalem, he had a tower built which gave him a complete view of the Temple precincts. The opposition responded by building a high wall to block out Herod's view, and the quarrel thus fostered bore no inconsiderable part in bringing about the Jewish rebellion of 66. Herod used his influence to check the rebellious propensities of his fellow-countrymen; but his efforts were powerless, and, when war broke out, he definitely sided with the Romans, and, after the outbreak had been quelled, received considerable accession of territory as a reward for his services. Now, previous to Agrippa's arrival, Festus had been placed in a somewhat awkward predicament by St. Paul's appeal to Cæsar, which necessitated the formulating of a legal statement of the case to the higher Imperial court. He had been unable, in the course of the inquiry that he had held, to discover evidence of any crime charged against the prisoner which could be construed into an offence against Roman law, and, as far as his information went, his condemnation was sought by his accusers on grounds connected entirely with their own law and custom. His ignorance of all that pertained to Judaism was such that he was unable to distinguish the relevancy of the charges, and to state a case to the court of Cæsar was, therefore, a matter of considerable difficulty. Herod was, however, a Jew by birth, and had a wide knowledge of Jewish law and custom, and was conversant with questions of Jewish theology. His official connection with the Temple had also brought him into close contact with the ecclesiastical authorities, and gave him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with all the minutiæ of

ritual and ceremonial. It would, therefore, have been difficult for Festus to have met with a person who, by position and knowledge, was better fitted to extricate him out of his present predicament. He, therefore, lost no time in laying before Herod a complete statement of St. Paul's case, explaining to him the dilemma in which he was placed by the prisoner's appeal to Cæsar, and requisitioning his assistance in the matter. The king's curiosity was aroused by the procurator's statement, and he expressed a desire to have the prisoner examined in his own presence, a request which was readily granted.

ST. PAUL BEFORE HEROD AGRIPPA.—On the following day, amid a scene of great pomp and splendour, which evidently left a deep impression upon the mind of the narrator, Festus takes his seat in the procurator's court, accompanied by Herod, and Bernice, and a host of Imperial and royal officials, comprising the suites of the proconsul and king, and the Apostle is summoned to appear before them. The scene must have brought to his mind the prophetic utterance quoted in Acts ix. 15, that he should "bear the Lord's name before Gentiles and kings." Roman proconsuls he had met before in the persons of Felix and Gallio, but now, for the first time in his Christian career, he stood up to speak for his Master and himself before a king, a subject king it is true, but yet a member of a great Royal Family, closely connected throughout its history with the Imperial family itself. The day was yet to come when the words would be fulfilled in their completest sense, when he would "bear the Lord's name" in the very presence of Cæsar himself. Festus opens the proceedings by repeating in public what he had already explained to Herod privately, how, on his first visit to Jerusalem, he had been assailed by the whole Jewish community, leaders and people,

with accusations against Paul, who had been declared unfit to live. He then proceeded to describe how he himself had examined him in their presence and could discover no evidence of any crime committed against Roman law, and how, on his proposing to hand over the prisoner to the Jewish authorities to be tried on an issue having reference to Jewish law, Paul had appealed to Cæsar, and how to Cæsar's court he had decided to send him. He had now summoned the prisoner to give an account of himself in the presence of the king and the assembly, in order that Herod, with his intimate knowledge of all that pertained to Judaism, might assist him in framing the charge which must accompany the prisoner when he appeared before the Supreme Court. When Festus had completed his introductory address, Agrippa expresses the desire of the court to hear what the Apostle has to say for himself.

ST. PAUL'S DEFENCE.—It should be noted that the speech is not a defence against a criminal charge, nor is the occasion that of a criminal trial. All questions of legal procedure, as far as Festus was concerned, had been definitely closed by St. Paul's appeal, and nothing that the Apostle can say on his own behalf can affect the local issue. To the procurator the whole import of St Paul's speech is contained in the possibility that it may furnish Agrippa with information which will enable him to afford assistance in formulating the charge for presentation to the Emperor's court. To Agrippa the occasion is full of interest as bringing him into contact with a new religious sect, which had caused a considerable sensation in many parts of the Roman world, and that in the person of its most renowned and powerful representative, who can hardly have been unknown to him by reputation even before this interview. To the Apostle himself the event was of supreme importance.

His Master's promise and commission had contained the provision that he should "bear His name before Gentiles and kings," but no such opportunity as this had hitherto presented itself, and the very character of the address itself, with the ample evidence it affords of the care the Apostle had bestowed upon the preparation of it, testifies to his sense of the uniqueness of the occasion. He was to deliver his own *apologia* as well as to proclaim the Gospel of which he was the herald before an assembly composed of Royal personages, Imperial officials, from the governor downwards, military officers of all ranks, and a crowd of notabilities, Gentile and Jewish, such as are found in the suites of kings and governors in all climes, and the address is admirably suited to the quality of the audience. Of all the Apostle's utterances it is the most finished and elaborate in style, and it represents the high-water mark of his oratory. The Apostle was not alone in recognizing the significance of the event.[1] The whole story, as narrated by St. Luke, witnesses to the deep impression that the address had left upon his mind. To him St. Paul's defence before Agrippa represented the climax of the long-continued trial process, and formed a fitting crown to the whole procedure. This is to be seen in the emphasis on the word "king," and in the very elaborateness of the setting of the speech. In this connection we note the frequent mention of Festus' declaration of the prisoner's innocence (Acts xxv. 10, 18, 25), and the vivid description of the pomp surrounding the inquiry. It is not improbable that something of the finished aspect of the address itself may be due to the hand of the historian. But even if this be granted, there can be heard unmistakably throughout the address the tones of the

[1] Rackham, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 457.

Apostle's own voice, with his emotions tuned to the highest pitch.

ST. PAUL'S TONE TOWARDS HEROD.—The attitude assumed by the Apostle towards the most important personage in his audience, Herod Agrippa, is that of sincere respect. He addresses his defence directly to him, and congratulates himself on the fact that he is privileged to deliver his *apologia* before one whose knowledge of Jewish law and custom renders him eminently capable of appreciating the force of his argument. When, towards the close of his speech, he is interrupted by Festus, it is to the king that he appeals for corroboration of the truth of his statements. His further appeal to Herod, and his definite expression of confidence in the king's Jewish faith, together with his pathetic desire for his conversion to the faith of Christ, all lead us to infer that, in his estimation, Agrippa possessed elements of character which were worthy of respectful consideration, and which were capable of further development. Of all the Herods that we meet with in the New Testament story, Herod the Great with his attempt on the life of the Saviour Child, Herod the Tetrarch who was guilty of the Baptist's murder, Herod Agrippa I. who persecuted the Church and slew St. James the Apostle with the sword, this Herod Agrippa II., who had the rare privilege of listening to the eloquence of the great Apostle at its best, seems alone to have deserved respect, and to have possessed a character which, in some points, was worthy of admiration.[1]

ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECH.

1. *The Introduction*, which consists of a compliment to Herod based on his knowledge of Judaism (Acts xxvi. 2, 3).

[1] Rackham, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 458.

2. *His defence against the charge of heresy* (Acts xxvi. 4–11). His defence is a recital of the story of the pre-Christian period of his career, the following details being emphasized—

(*a*) His training as a Jew in Jerusalem, in the very strictest school of the Pharisees (vv. 4, 5).

(*b*) The charge brought against him was one that involved the whole community of Israel (vv. 6, 7).

(*c*) The result of his training in the tenets of Pharisaism was to fill him with such zeal for Judaism, and such anger against the followers of Jesus Christ, that he became the leading spirit in the policy of persecution, and a relentless enemy of the Christian community (vv. 8–11).

3. *The story of his conversion* (Acts xxvi. 12–21). The change in his personal convictions, as a result of which the Jewish persecutor became the Christian Apostle, is explained by the story of his conversion, which was followed by his special mission to the Gentiles. Now it was this mission, definitely revealed to him by Christ, which aroused the hostility of the Jews, led to his arrest, and explained his present position.

4. *A definite presentation of the "Gospel,"* which is in complete accordance with all that had been foretold by Moses and the prophets, and consisted in the preaching of Christ, Who, by His crucifixion and resurrection from the dead, was destined to bring light both to Jew and Gentile (Acts xxvi. 22–23).

5. *Festus' interruption and St. Paul's reply* (Acts xxvi. 24, 25).

6. *The Apostle's appeal to Agrippa, and Agrippa's reply* (Acts xxvi. 26–28).

7. *St. Paul's final prayer* (Acts xxvi. 29).

THE SPEECH (Acts xxvi. 1–29).

1 With a characteristic gesture, stretching forth his
2 fettered hand, St. Paul opens his defence with a tactful compliment to the king, and felicitates himself upon the fact that he is to make his *apologia* before one
3 whose knowledge of the question at issue will enable him to appreciate all that he is about to utter on his own behalf.

The *apologia* itself consists of—

4 1. An emphatic repudiation of the charge of "apostasy" from Judaism. This repudiation is here based on the length ("from the beginning," "from my youth up"), and strictness of his training in the school of the
5 Pharisees, both of which factors in his life are perfectly familiar to the Jews themselves. Up to this point his defence has been conducted on the same lines as in the speech on the Castle steps in Jerusalem, but he now proceeds to enlarge the scope of his argument, and maintains that not only is there no ground for the charge
6 of apostasy, but that the very "Gospel" that he preaches, which has created such intense hostility against him on the part of the Jews, is only the natural development of
7 all that is essential in the Jewish religion. It is the hope based on the "promise" made by God to the fathers that he proclaims, that promise which formed the very *raison d'être* of the existence of the Jews as a religious people, and to the fulfilment of which, not only the truncated Israel as represented by the limited community of the Jews, but the whole twelve tribes, God's ideal Israel, look forward with an intensity that defied description.

And yet in spite of this he is accused of being "an apostate Jew," and accused by Jews, of all people!

He is proceeding to explain how the "promise made to the fathers" received its fulfilment in the "resurrection of Jesus," when he is checked by the thought of the character of his audience, which is principally composed of Gentiles, and to whom, therefore, the idea of "a resurrection of the dead," as he discovered at Athens,
8 was an absurdity. He thereupon breaks off the thread of his argument, and addresses to them a direct question based on the thought which he had all but uttered, "Why is it thought incredible with you, if God doth raise the dead?" where the emphasis is undoubtedly on the word *God* as an effective protest against any ribald rejection of his doctrine.

9 After this brief interlude he resumes his defence, and pleads, as a further argument against the charge of apostasy, his zeal as a persecutor of Christians. Here again he is working on familiar lines, but there is an apparent tendency to emphasize the intensity of his zeal and hatred, which is not found in the former
10 biographical speech. As instances of this we may note the phrases, "I ought to do *many* things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth," "I shut up *many* of the saints in prison," "When they were put to death, *I* gave
11 vote against them," "I *strove* to make them blaspheme," "Being *exceedingly mad* against them, I persecuted them even *into foreign cities*." In the last declaration the contrast would seem to imply that he pursued Christians into other cities outside Judæa besides Damascus. If this is not the case, the expression must be attributed to oratorical exaggeration.

12–16 2. *The story of his conversion.* As the whole question of "the conversion in the speeches" is dealt with in a subsequent chapter, it is unnecessary to enter upon any detailed comment on this section of the address at this point. It will be sufficient to note that, as the narrative

of the conversion proceeds, the Apostle seems to be changing the direction of his defence, which at the commencement was primarily addressed to the Jewish side of his audience. He has now become conscious of the cosmopolitan character of the assembly before which he is pleading, and of the unique opportunity it offers for proclaiming his Gospel to the world at large, in the persons of that many-sided crowd gathered to listen to him. He has lost sight of the Jew, both in his own person, and in the audience, in the larger and wider
17 outlook that opens out before him. It is "Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles" that is now speaking, and it is
18 "the Gospel of Christ" as bringing light to a world of darkness in which both Jew and Gentile are comprehended that he now proclaims with all the fervour of his nature.

3. *The Pauline Gospel.* His subsequent career, he declares, is based on obedience to the heavenly vision
19 which caused his conversion. It was because of the commands laid on him by Jesus, Who appeared to him on the road to Damascus, that he entered upon his labours as a Christian Missionary, first of all, in a restricted sense,
20 in Damascus itself, then at Jerusalem and in the surrounding country of Judæa, and, last of all, in accordance with the breadth of his commission, in the Gentile world at
21 large. It was this activity on his part that had made him so obnoxious to the Jews, who had actually attempted to
22 murder him, and it was only by the special providence of God that he had been preserved to stand before them all, to declare to every person in that assembly, whether great or small, to kings, governors, or minor officials, and through them to the world outside, his Gospel. This Gospel, he would again emphasize, was essentially a
23 Gospel based on the Jewish Scriptures. It was this that the Jewish prophets had foreshadowed, and the Mosaic

Law with all its types and sacrifices found its fulfilment in it, viz. that Christ should suffer, and, by the fact of His resurrection, which was the firstfruits of a general resurrection, should proclaim *light* to Jew and Gentile alike.

4. *Festus' interruption, and St. Paul's appeal to Agrippa.*

24 The Apostle had now reached such a pitch of eloquence and fervour that to Festus, who probably had understood but little of the drift of his argument, and was startled by his impassionate declaration of the death and resurrection of Christ, he seemed as one possessed. He, therefore, interrupted the speaker, and, in a loud voice, exclaimed, "Paul, thou art mad: thy much learning doth turn thee to madness."

25 St. Paul replied to this with a courteous denial of the charge of madness, and appealed to Herod, who could 26 speak from knowledge of these events, which were notorious, in support of the truth of his contentions. 27 He follows up his appeal by coming into still closer quarters with Herod, and asks him point blank, and in such a manner as to denote that he confidently expected an affirmative reply, "King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets?" The king was by no means pleased by the turn events were taking, and he no doubt strongly resented the intense personal tone of the Apostle's references to himself. The emphasis laid by the Apostle on his Jewish extraction and knowledge would be none too gratifying to Herod in the presence of such an assembly, and he, therefore, parries the Apostle's direct 28 thrust with an ironical remark, "You will soon make me 29 out to be a Christian." Whereupon St. Paul, "taking the words as though they had been spoken in earnest, makes that noble answer, which expresses, as no other words ever expressed them, that union of enthusiastic zeal with genuine courtesy which is the true characteristic of a

Christian"[1]: "I would to God that, whether with little or with much, not thou only, but also all that hear me this day, might become such as I am except these bonds."

RESULT OF THE SPEECH.—Agrippa and Festus had now heard enough. The Apostle's personal appeals were rendering the former uncomfortable, and Festus realized this. The proceedings were, therefore, terminated at this stage, and the assembly was dissolved. As they departed opinions were freely expressed that the prisoner had been guilty of no offence which deserved imprisonment, much less death, and this view was strengthened by the emphatic declaration of the king that he might have been set free had he not appealed to Cæsar. The appeal had, however, taken the issue out of Festus' hands, so nothing remained but to detain the prisoner in custody until a suitable opportunity arrived for sending him to Rome to answer at the bar of Cæsar.

Prof. McGiffert[2] considers it extremely unlikely that, even had there been no appeal to Cæsar, Festus would have unreservedly liberated St. Paul at this stage. He argues that although he may have convinced both Agrippa and Festus, and the assembled generals, that he had committed no crime, it did not follow that he was not a dangerous person, and a menace to the peace of the Empire, and there was no guarantee that he would not continue as such in the future. The Apostle's intentions were, doubtless, good, and there was no reason why his preaching should cause excitement and lead to riots wherever he went. But the fact remained that this did happen, and this was quite enough to condemn him in the eyes of the Roman State, and Festus, as a faithful Roman official, could hardly have set him free,

[1] Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, vol. ii p. 367.

[2] McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 356 note.

even with Agrippa's definite opinion to support him in his action. But surely this contention loses sight of the fact that Agrippa's opinion was in absolute harmony with Festus' own deliberate judgment, expressed not once, but twice, privately to Agrippa, and again publicly at the hearing (Acts xxv. 18, 25); and it seems hardly possible to doubt that, after this repeated declaration of the prisoner's innocence, and supported as he was by the strong assertion of Agrippa, and the general sense of the court, he would have liberated the prisoner had he been free to act in the matter. If he had still continued to retain him in custody, it would have been, not because he had any doubts as to the prisoner's right to his freedom, but because he feared that his action in liberating him would infuriate the Jews to such a point as to render matters not only extremely unpleasant, but also dangerous to himself, as other proconsuls had learnt only too well. It was because the Apostle was suspicious as to the extent to which the governor might be subject to Jewish influences, that he had been driven to appeal to the Imperial court, and not because he harboured any doubts of his own innocence before the law of the Empire.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE ADDRESS.—A. ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR.—1. *It is the work of an eye-witness.* The impression produced by a study of the address is that it is undoubtedly the work of an eye-witness, or a copy from an original source. The circumstantial description of the entry of the exalted assembly, the impression created by the grandeur of the surroundings, the special notice of the gesture of St. Paul in stretching forth his manacled hand, the dramatic ending, the audience standing up, and the subsequent informal consultation, all tell the same tale. They are points which attracted the attention of one who saw with his own eyes. The

address itself, although perhaps exhibiting signs of considerable editing on the part of the author, is, on the whole, a careful reproduction of the very speech delivered by the Apostle.

The abrupt break in the argument, the direct questions addressed either to the audience generally, or to Herod in particular, the exact reproduction of the emphatic words at the end of the sentences, as, *e.g.*, v. 5, "I lived *a Pharisee*"; v. 7, "I am accused by . . . *Jews*"; v. 13, "there shone around me a *light*"; v. 18, "by faith *in me*"; v. 21, "me they endeavoured *to slay*," point to the same conclusion.

2. *Pauline features in the address.*—(*a*) St. Paul's thoroughness, which was such a marked feature in the address at Miletus, is also manifest here.

Cf. Acts. xxvi. 2, "*All* the things whereof I am accused,"
" " " 3, "*all* the customs and questions,"
" " " 5, "the *straitest* sect of our religion,"
" " " 9, "I ought to do *many* things,"
" " " 11, "punishing them *often*times *in all* the synagogues,"
" " " 11, "I *strove* to make them blaspheme,"
" " " 11, "being *exceedingly mad* against them."

(*b*) *The address contains twenty-five peculiar Pauline expressions*, according to Prof. Davidson,[1] but he is inclined to doubt the Paulinism of some of them.

(*c*) *The development of the argument* is quite in consonance with what we know of St. Paul's practice, and is after the pattern of his own personal experience.

The opening section of the speech is addressed to,

[1] Davidson, *Intro. to the New Test.*, vol. ii. p. 121.

and would appeal to, the king, and to the Jewish portion of the audience. It is a simple defence against the charge of apostasy from Judaism, and is based on such grounds as would be intelligible to, and would have weight with, the Jews. But as the argument reaches the period of his conversion, and his Apostolic mission from the Lord, the point of view expands, and he is no longer a Jew appealing to Jews, but the herald of the Lord, proclaiming the good news of the Gospel to the whole world, commissioned to bring "light" to Jew and Gentile alike. The development in the character of the message corresponds to the growth of the conception of the catholicity of the Kingdom of Christ. In Christ is to be found now not merely the fulfilment of "the promise made unto the fathers," but through Him the whole world is to be turned "from darkness unto light," and to be transferred from the sphere of "the power of Satan" into the Kingdom of God, and this in virtue of His resurrection from the dead. Thus St. Paul advances from the narrow platform of a Judaistic Christianity to the complete catholicism of the Christian Church. The whole of the speech illustrates in a wonderful manner the development of his own spiritual experience, and his actual practice in his Missionary course, in which he commences his ministry by first approaching the Jews, and then, by the very force of circumstances, is impelled to open wide the gates of the Church of Christ, and to welcome within it all who obey the call, whether Jew or Gentile, Greek or barbarian.

3. *Points of contact with other Pauline utterances.* (*a*) The correspondence with the sermon at Antioch in Pisidia in the importance attached to the idea of "*the promise.*"

Cf. Acts xxvi. 6, 7, "And now I stand here to be judged for the hope of *the promise* made of God unto

our fathers. Unto *which promise* our twelve tribes, earnestly serving God night and day hope to attain," with Acts xiii. 23, "Of this man's seed hath God according *to promise* brought to Israel a Saviour, Jesus." Also with Acts xiii. 32, 33, "And we bring you good tidings of *the promise* made unto the fathers."

(*b*) *The use of the phrase* ἐπιστρέφειν ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς in Acts xxvi. 18, "That they should turn from darkness into light," may be compared with the sermon at Lystra, Acts xiv. 15, "That ye should turn from these vain things unto the living God," ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ματαίων ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ Θεὸν ζῶντα.

4. *Points of contact with the Epistles.* (*a*) With Acts xxvi. 18, cf. 1 Thess. i. 9, "How ye turned from idols to serve a living and true God," πῶς ἐπεστρέψατε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων δουλεύειν Θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ.

(*b*) With the phrase πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν in Acts xxvi. 23, cf. 1 Cor. xv. 20, "Now hath Christ been raised from the dead, the firstfruits of them that slept," ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων, and Col. i. 18, "the firstborn from the dead," πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν.

(*c*) The use of the emphatic word "light," and the division of the world into two sections of "light" and "darkness" ruled over by God and Satan respectively, finds parallels in Ephes. v. 8, "For ye were sometimes *darkness*, but now are ye light in the Lord; walk as children of light." Col. i. 12, 13, "Who made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in *light*; who delivered us out of the power of *darkness*, and translated us into the Kingdom of the Son of His love."

With the use of the word "light," cf. 2 Cor. iv. 4, "That the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ should not dawn upon them." 2 Cor. iv. 6, "*Light* shall shine out of *darkness*, who shined in our hearts, to give the *light* of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face

of Jesus Christ." 1 Thess. v. 5, "Ye are all the sons of *light*." 2 Tim. i. 10, "And hath brought life and incorruption to *light* through the gospel."

B. DIFFICULTIES IN THE SPEECH.—The questions arising from the discrepancies in the three accounts of the conversion as given in Acts ix., xxi., xxvi. respectively, will be fully dealt with in the chapter on "the conversion."

The expression in Acts xxvi. 20, in which the Apostle describes himself as preaching "throughout all the country of Judæa" is difficult to reconcile with his statement in Gal. i. 22, where he says that he was still unknown "to the Churches of Judæa which are in Christ."

Ramsay[1] (following Blass) would read *εἰς πᾶσαν χώραν Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ ἔθνεσιν*, which would refer to the Apostle's Missionary journeys in which he preached to Jews and Gentiles. If we retain the usual reading it is possible that strict chronological order is not observed, and that what the Apostle is referring to was subsequent in point of time to Gal. i. 22, and would point to his work in Judæa at a later period of his career. The most probable explanation of the difficulty is that St. Paul, in the rush of his eloquence, was not careful to employ exact language, and is guilty of an exaggeration pardonable in an orator. The fact that the words, which are undoubtedly difficult to explain, are inserted without any attempt to change them is a testimony to the fidelity of the reporter.

Prof. Bacon[2] remarks on the address, "We have here, as in the case of the speech at Athens, a comparatively trustworthy account of what Paul might have said"; and adds, "If to be a true Christian gentleman is Pauline, the answer to Agrippa is so."

[1] Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 382.
[2] Bacon, *Story of St. Paul*, p. 203.

CHAPTER VI

ST. PAUL IN ROME (Acts xxviii. 14–31)

14, 15 AND so we came to Rome. And from thence the brethren, when they heard of us, came to meet us as far as The Market of Appius, and The Three Taverns: whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage.

16 And when we entered into Rome, Paul was suffered to abide by himself with the soldier that guarded him.

17 And it came to pass, that after three days he called together those that were the chief of the Jews: and when they were come together, he said unto them—

I, brethren, though I had done nothing against the people, or the customs of our fathers, yet was delivered prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans:
18 who, when they had examined me, desired to set me at
19 liberty, because there was no cause of death in me. But when the Jews spake against it, I was constrained to appeal unto Cæsar; not that I had aught to accuse my
20 nation of. For this cause therefore did I intreat you to see and to speak with me: for because of the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain.

21 And they said unto him, We neither received letters from Judæa concerning thee, nor did any of the brethren come
22 hither and report or speak any harm of thee. But we desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest: for as concerning this sect, it is known to us that everywhere it is spoken against.

23 And when they had appointed him a day, they came to him into his lodging in great number; to whom he expounded the matter, testifying the kingdom of God, and

persuading them concerning Jesus, both from the law of Moses and from the prophets, from morning till evening.
24 And some believed the things which were spoken, and some
25 disbelieved. And when they agreed not among themselves, they departed, after that Paul had spoken one word,

Well spake the Holy Ghost by Isaiah the prophet
26 unto your fathers, saying—

Go thou unto this people, and say,
By hearing ye shall hear, and shall in no wise understand;
And seeing ye shall see, and shall in no wise perceive:
27 For this people's heart is waxed gross,
And their ears are dull of hearing,
And their eyes they have closed;
Lest haply they should perceive with their eyes,
And hear with their ears,
And understand with their heart,
And should turn again,
And I should heal them.

28 Be it known therefore unto you, that this salvation of God is sent unto the Gentiles: they will also hear.
30 And he abode two whole years in his own hired dwelling,
31 and received all that went in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ with all boldness, none forbidding him.

ST. PAUL'S ARRIVAL IN ROME.—After a long and eventful voyage, lasting over five months, the Apostle at last arrives in Rome. His prayers had been frequent and earnest that God's purpose might bring him to the Imperial city, and now they are answered. The manner of his coming was not what he had dreamt of in the years long gone by, and it was not as a prisoner in chains that his imagination had pictured his arrival; but Rome was Rome under any conditions, and to be in Rome, the

centre of the world, with all its manifold opportunities for the expansion of the Kingdom of Christ, more than compensated for bonds and imprisonment. Although to see Rome had been the strongest desire of his heart, and he had never ceased to pray for it, and although God had revealed to him that his desire would be realized, when the momentous event drew nigh, his courage all but failed him. The narrative at this point reveals the fact that the Apostle was not in possession of the buoyancy of spirit which had been such a prominent feature during the progress of that memorable voyage. He, who, in all the dangers that they had encountered, had been the very life and soul of the ship, the comforter, the counsellor, the one essentially strong man in the company, was now suffering from a reaction. He was low-spirited, anxious, and worried as to the future, and it needed all the consolation and encouragement that the warm welcome of the Christians at Puteoli (Acts xxviii. 14), and of the deputation from the Roman Church which met him at "The Market of Appius" and "The Three Taverns" (Acts xxviii. 15) afforded him, to restore him to his normal condition of cheerfulness and hope. According to the reading adopted by the Authorised Version in Acts xxviii. 16, which is placed in the margin in the Revised Version, and rejected by Westcott and Hort, the Apostle, on his arrival at Rome, was handed over by Julius, the centurion, from whom he had met with uniform kindness, to the custody of an official called στρατοπεσάρχης, a term generally interpreted as being the Captain of the Prætorian Guard, but Ramsay[1] (following Mommsen) dissents from this view, on the ground that an officer of this exalted rank would hardly demean himself by undertaking a duty of this character, and maintains that the official in question was

[1] Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 348.

the "Princeps peregrinorum." This officer was in command of the camp of the "peregrini" in Rome, *i.e.* of the camp where officers and men belonging to legions on foreign service, and detached from their own units, who found themselves in the capital on temporary duty, would be stationed, until an opportunity arrived to restore them to their respective commands. This camp bears a striking resemblance to "the rest camps" established at various centres, which were such a prominent feature in the last campaign in South Africa. Under the surveillance of this officer the Apostle remained in custody, but was treated with great consideration, and was allowed to hire his own lodging, where he, and the soldier who was in immediate charge of him, and to whom he was always attached by a chain, made their residence. The greatest freedom, consistent with the fact of his being a prisoner awaiting trial, was granted him, and no hindrance was placed in the way of his seeing his friends and fellow-Christians, or of addressing himself freely to all who came to visit him. Reference has already been made to the fact that, as the Apostle drew near to Rome, his mind was filled with anxiety as to the future that awaited him in that world-renowned city, and the narrative seems to imply that this anxiety was not confined to any one single issue, but was concerned with his reception in three directions—

1. By the Christians at Rome,
2. By the Imperial authorities,
3. By the Jews,

for the author carefully describes the manner of his reception by each one of these sections.

THE CHRISTIANS IN ROME.—There is a complete absence of evidence as to the beginnings of Roman Christianity. It is not impossible that among "the sojourners from Rome" who formed a part of St. Peter's

audience on the first day of Pentecost, might be found the first heralds of the Kingdom of Christ in the Imperial city. Sanday and Headlam,[1] however, consider this unlikely on account of the shortness of their stay in Jerusalem, and the consequent indefiniteness of their knowledge of Christianity. St. Peter's sermon might have predisposed them to welcome Christianity later on, but could hardly have effected more than that.

But even if this theory be abandoned, a movement which had established itself so firmly in great provincial cities like Syrian Antioch, Ephesus, Philippi, Thessalonica, and Corinth, must eventually make itself felt in the capital of the Empire, not to mention the constant intercourse maintained between the Jews of Jerusalem and of Palestine and those of Rome. Whatever be the history of its origin, it is known that as early as 56 A.D. there was a Christian Church of such strength and importance as to justify St. Paul in addressing to it the most elaborate of all his extant Epistles. The very fact of the Apostle writing a letter to a Church with which he had had no previous connection throws some light on the question of the founding of the Church. It could not have owed its origin to any one of the Apostles, because it is incredible that St. Paul, in defiance of his own well-defined policy "not to build on another man's foundation" (Rom. xv. 20), would have addressed a letter to a Church of Apostolic foundation. The names which are enumerated in the last chapter of the Epistle, and the manner in which they are addressed, each one having some endearing expression attached to it, implies personal acquaintance, and it is by no means improbable that these members of the Roman Church, to whom St. Paul sends such affectionate greetings, were at one time members of other

[1] Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. xxviii.

Christian communities of his own founding, and may have borne a considerable part in establishing Christianity at Rome.[1]

The whole character of the Epistle to the Romans, one of the main objects of which was to hold an even balance between Jew and Gentile, points conclusively to the fact that the Roman Church was composed of both elements, although the Apostle regards it broadly as a Gentile Church, and the names at the end of his letter show a preponderance of that element. The original purpose of the letter was probably to express a desire and determination to pay the Roman Church a visit at no very distant date, and to prepare them for that visit. And now that purpose is on the point of fulfilment, and his soul is weighed down with anxiety. He had told them of his longing "to impart some spiritual gift to them" (Rom. i. 11; xv. 29), and he had expressed a desire to "have some fruit" (Rom. i. 13) there as in other cities of the Empire. What, then, would be the character of his reception, now that he came among them, not as the free "Apostle of the Gentiles," but as "Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ"?

His cordial reception by the Church of Puteoli, probably an offshoot of the mother Church of Rome, and the warmth of his welcome by the Roman Christians, whose desire to see him was so keen as to make them anticipate his arrival by going as far as "The Market of Appius" and "The Three Taverns" to meet him, completely set his anxiety at rest on this point. It was with renewed courage, and with much gratitude to God for His goodness, that he proceeded to face his other difficulties. Archbishop Benson[2] compares the reception of the Apostle by the Roman Christians to that of the

[1] Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. xxvii.
[2] Benson, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 640.

English Deputation of Missionaries by the Assyrian Christians, who went fifteen miles along the road to meet them, and thus filled their hearts with renewed hope.

ST. PAUL AND THE IMPERIAL AUTHORITIES.—The Apostle's relationships with the Imperial authorities during recent years had, on the whole, been such as to cause him little anxiety as to the treatment that he might expect to receive in Rome. That he had seen the desire of his life satisfied, and that he found himself in Rome at all, was due to the protection afforded him by the agents of the Imperial policy. It was the Roman provincial officials, the Asiarchs, that had prevented him from facing the infuriated mob in the theatre at Ephesus; it was the Roman power, in the person of Claudius Lysias, which had saved his life on three separate occasions; it was a Roman centurion who had interposed, and preserved him and his fellow-prisoners on board ship, when the soldiers suggested their murder in cold blood. Both the Apostle, and the religion of which he was the foremost representative, had found in the law and toleration of the Empire, as administered in the Eastern provinces, a refuge against the forces of anarchy and fanaticism, and a sphere in which a free development of Christian principles and practices was possible. It was, therefore, with no slight sense of confidence that he had appealed to have his case transferred to the tribunal of Cæsar. And yet the very fact of that transference must infallibly bring about a considerable change in his own position, and, through him, must modify the attitude of the Empire towards Christianity in general. For the first time Christianity, in the person of St. Paul, was to stand face to face with Cæsar, and it thus assumes a prominence and importance in the eyes of the State hitherto denied to it, and what this meant the events of the next few years were to demonstrate

very clearly. The fact, too, that the Emperor was Nero was not without tremendous significance. It is true that Nero had not yet reached that period of his reign in which all the terrible faults of his character were to be revealed, but the golden era of his rule was drawing to a close. Rumours, which were only too rife concerning the Emperor's unspeakable atrocities and profligacy, could not have failed to reach the ears of the Apostle, and must have filled his heart with dread as to the future, both of himself, and of the Church. The Empire, which seemed to him to have been the one restraining power against the forces of evil, was beginning to be revealed in its true character, as the very "Antichrist" himself. So doubts and questionings were agitating the Apostle's mind as he drew near to the great city and as he began to realize what his arrival in Rome must mean, and to see, with prophetic instinct, the tremendous conflict between the Church and the Empire, to which his appearance before Cæsar must prove a prelude. For the time his doubts were set at rest, and his courage strengthened, not only by the warmth of his reception by the Roman Church, but also by the kind and indulgent treatment he received at the hands of the Imperial officials into whose custody he is transferred by Julius, the centurion.

The letters of the captivity prove, however, that although he saw in the organization of the Empire much to admire, and that his conception of the Church as the Kingdom of Christ owed much to the influence of Imperial ideas, he had no illusions as to the true character of the Empire as the one mighty power arrayed against Christ, nor as to the magnitude of the conflict that would be waged between the Empire and Christianity. For the present, however, the record closes with the significant word ἀκολύτως, the kindness and

toleration of Imperialism in Rome being the emphatic note.

THE JEWS IN ROME.—The advent of the Jews in Rome in any numbers dates from the taking of Jerusalem in 63 B.C., when Pompey brought to the capital a large train of captives to grace his triumph. Not much time elapsed before these prisoners recovered their liberty, and laid the foundation of a Jewish colony in Rome, which soon attained considerable importance. They occupied a special quarter of their own beyond the Tiber, the modern Trastevere, and, under the fostering care of the Emperors, became a factor of much significance in the life of the city. To such an extent was this the case that there was no department of public life in which members of the Jewish race did not occupy positions of prominence. The Forum, the camp, and even the precincts of the Imperial palace itself gave evidence of the Jews' activity. In Nero's court the favourite actor was a Jew, and his mistress Poppæa was a Jewish proselyte. So wide was their influence that it soon attracted the attention of politicians like Cicero and Seneca (cf. the quotation from Seneca in *Aug. de civ Dei*, "victi victoribus leges dederunt"), and of satirists. They eventually became such a menace to the State that Tiberius banished thousands of them to Sardinia, and under Claudius there was a wholesale banishment of Jews from Rome, because of disturbances and riots, probably in connection with the preaching of Christ,[1] or on account of Messianic hopes generally. At the period of the Apostle's visit they had, however, returned in great numbers. The final cleavage between him and his fellow-countrymen had not yet been reached. Although the implacable enmity displayed by the Jews at Jerusalem had not been without

[1] Cf. Suetonius, *Claud.*, 25, where "Chrestus" may be only a form of "Christus."

its due effect, his heart still warms towards his own people, and he still adopts his normal method of presenting his Gospel message, to the Jews first, and to the Gentiles afterwards. He is also anxious to learn their attitude towards himself, and if possible to forestall any false statements about himself which may reach the Jewish community at Rome from their brethren in Jerusalem. As soon, therefore, as he is settled in his hired dwelling he requests the presence of the rulers (on the principle of influencing the main body through their natural leaders), and explains the reason why he had asked for their attendance, and his present position.

THE ADDRESSES.—His intercourse with the Jews of Rome was confined to two interviews, (1) with the rulers and leaders of the community, an account of which is given in Acts xxviii. 17–22, which contain the explanation of his own position, and the reply of the Jewish deputation. (2) With a more general audience of Jews, which lasted the whole day. Of the proceedings on this occasion we have only the briefest summary in Acts xxviii. 23–25, together with St. Paul's closing words of solemn warning, and a declaration of his mission to the Gentiles.

Acts xxviii. 17–20

The first address. The address at the first interview is personal in character, and consists merely of an explanation of the reasons which led to his appearance in Rome as a prisoner of the Imperial government. Appealing to them as "brethren" he proclaims his innocence of the charges which had led to his arrest by the Romans in Jerusalem, and to his subsequent imprisonment. The Imperial officials were prepared to set him free, and it was only the hostility of the Jews that prevented his liberation and compelled him to appeal to the protection of the Imperial tribunal itself. This was not, as he explains, with a view of impeaching his own

nation, but solely for the purpose of defending his own life. And yet the very Gospel that he preached, on which all the charges against him were based, those charges which had brought in their train his bonds and imprisonment, was a Gospel which should appeal to them, and to all Jews. For was it not the fulfilment in Christ of "the hope of Israel" that he proclaimed, that hope which gave life and colour to all the devotion and faith of every Jew?

17–22 *The reply of the Jewish deputation.* The response of the Jewish leaders to the Apostle's appeal is perfectly courteous and fair. As far as they are concerned they have received no accusations or adverse reports concerning him, either by means of official letters from the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem, or by information brought by brethren who have recently arrived from Judæa. They are, therefore, perfectly open-minded as far as he personally is concerned, and are anxious to give him an opportunity of explaining to them in detail the main points of his teaching. They warn him, however, that the sect of the Nazarenes, with which he is associated, has an evil reputation among all Jews throughout the Empire. With this warning the interview terminates, and a day is appointed for a further hearing, so that the Apostle may give a full and complete exposition of the principles that he advocates.

23–28 *The second address.* The audience on this occasion is much more numerous than at the first interview, and the leaders are accompanied by a large following of Roman Jews anxious to listen to the Apostle's exposition of Christianity. Of St. Paul's address, which lasted for the greater part of the whole day, we have only the merest epitome in the Acts. It evidently proceeded on familiar lines, and would no doubt much resemble the sermon at Antioch in Pisidia, which is regarded by

St. Luke as a type of St. Paul's presentation of Christianity to a Jewish audience. The address in the main was a proclamation of Christ as the fulfilment of the law and the prophets. The effect of the appeal was to divide the audience into two sections, some inclined to believe, and others vehement in their opposition. The result, on the whole, was discouraging, and the Apostle, seeing that his experiences at Antioch, Corinth, and Ephesus were to be repeated at Rome, definitely separates himself from the Jewish community, and declares their rejection by God in the solemn words of Isa. vi. 9. This detachment is illustrated by the change from the "our fathers" of previous addresses to the "your fathers" of Acts xxviii. 25. In spite, however, of the defection of the Jews, God's purpose shall be fulfilled, and the salvation in Christ Jesus which they reject shall be offered to the despised Gentiles, who will appreciate it at its full value. So St. Luke concludes this part of the record with the definite rejection of Christ on the part of the Jews, but with the opening of the door wide to the incoming of the Gentile nations, with whom Christ and Christianity are, in the future, to be mainly identified.

THE HISTORICITY OF THE INCIDENT.—No section of the Acts has been subjected to more severe criticism than the narrative which describes St. Paul's interviews with the Jewish community at Rome. Much of the criticism is levelled at the Apostle's own speech, but the main *crux* of the passage would seem to lie in the statement of the Jewish leaders (Acts xxviii. 21), which implies that they only knew of Christianity by reputation, and had not come into personal contact with it themselves. We propose to deal with each of these difficulties separately.

1. *Discrepancies in St. Paul's speech with other portions of the Acts.* Schmiedel[1] points out that the Apostle's

[1] *Encycl. Bibl.*, art. "Acts."

statement in Acts xxviii. 17, that he was a prisoner of the Jews, is inconsistent with Acts xxi. 31–34, xxii. 23–39, xxiv. 27, and again that the account of the occasion of "the appeal to Cæsar," described in Acts xxviii. 19, does not harmonize with Acts xxv. 11. These variations are not of supreme importance, and are accounted for by the fact that the narrator is only giving a short *résumé* of St. Paul's statement, or that the Apostle himself only provided a rapid survey of the various stages of the trial, and was not particular as to minute details, as long as he presented them with a general idea of the position.

2. *The reply of the Jews.* The objections to the reply of the Jewish leaders are of a much weighter character. It is pointed out by Harnack[1] that the "we" document closes with the arrival of the Apostle at Rome, and is not found after Acts xxviii. 16, and, therefore, this section of the narrative does not possess the same credentials of authority as the story of the voyage which has been just concluded. It is also argued by a large number of modern critics, among them Harnack,[1] McGiffert,[2] Weiszacker,[3] and Davidson,[4] that it is incredible that the Jews should have replied to the Apostle in the manner represented in the text, and more especially, as to the two statements, (1) that they had received no adverse reports concerning him, and (2) that they had no knowledge of Christianity beyond what they had heard concerning it.

(1) It is maintained that, with the constant intercourse between Jerusalem and Rome, it was practically impossible that some information concerning the proceedings at Jerusalem and Cæsarea should not have reached

[1] Harnack, *St. Luke the Physician*, p. 131.
[2] McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age*, p. 362.
[3] Weiszacker, *The Apostolic Age*, vol. ii. p. 130.
[4] Davidson, *Intro. to the New Test.*, vol. ii. p. 101.

the capital. Mr. Rackham[1] suggests that the storm which delayed the Apostle may also have delayed any messenger sent to Rome by the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem, which would account for the absence of information against St. Paul on the part of the Jews in Rome. Dr. Hort, on the other hand, argues the possibility that no messengers were sent from Jerusalem to Rome, because it was thought that the fact of the Apostle's imprisonment at Cæsarea, and his subsequent arrival at Rome as a prisoner in bonds, would render him comparatively harmless, and that, therefore, there was no cause for any further apprehension with regard to him. It is not improbable that the troublesome state of affairs in Judæa at this time may have had something to do with their apparent indifference with regard to him, and may have prevented the Jewish authorities from pursuing him to the bitter end.

(2) The impression produced by the narrative is that the Jewish leaders meant to imply that they had not come into contact with Christianity, but only knew of it by hearsay. Now this alleged ignorance of the Jews about Christianity is stated by the foregoing critics to be absolutely out of harmony with what we know of the condition of the Church at Rome, and more especially with the contents of the Epistle to the Romans. That there were Christians in Rome is beyond a doubt, and it is by no means impossible that the very disturbances which led to the banishment of the Jews by the Emperor Claudius, were due to the preaching of Christ. It must be acknowledged, therefore, that the statement of the Jews is not easy to explain. The most satisfactory theory[3] would seem to be that they did know of the

[1] Rackham, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 501.
[2] Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 103.
[3] Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 15.

existence of Christianity, but that it was their policy not to avow it. If the edict of Claudius was in any way connected with the preaching of Christ, it was natural that the Jews should disclaim any knowledge of it, or connection with it. They, therefore, closed their eyes to its existence, but, at the same time, they could not very well avoid giving St. Paul a hearing, and they, therefore, consented to give him an opportunity of addressing them. Mr. Rackham,[1] while accepting the statement of the Jewish authorities as approximately correct, explains the condition of affairs implied in it as being due to the edict of Claudius. This edict drove Jewish Christians away from Rome, and caused the Gentile element in the Church to preponderate to such an extent that the Jewish section was practically of little, or of no account. When the edict was withdrawn, and the Jews returned to Rome, there was none of the free intercourse between Jewish and Gentile Christians which had formerly existed, and, therefore, the Jews might justifiably express their lack of acquaintance with Christianity in Rome. This theory is open to the objection that in the Epistle to the Romans, which was written *after* the edict of Claudius, a considerable Jewish element in the Roman Church is distinctly implied.

3. *Prof. McGiffert's criticism on St. Paul's second address.* Prof. McGiffert[2] maintains that the Apostle's second address in Acts xxviii. 25–28 is out of harmony with the situation and immediate context, and that v. 28, at this period of the Apostle's career, when so many similar experiences had befallen him in his relations with the Jews throughout the Empire, and the evangelization of the Gentiles had formed his main work for many years, is an anachronism.

[1] Rackham, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 501.
[2] McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age*, p. 362.

It is not improbable that the incident is narrated here because it is the *last* of many similar instances, and forms the *climax* of a long-continued process of alienation between St. Paul and his fellow-countrymen. The cleavage is now final and complete.

THE QUOTATION IN ACTS XXVIII. 26, 27.—This passage from Isaiah is also quoted by our Lord, and noted in all the Synoptic Gospels (St. Matt. xiii. 14; St. Mark iv. 12; St. Luke viii. 10), and, in each case, the words explain and account for our Lord's parabolic method of teaching. In St. Matthew the quotation agrees word for word with that given in this passage, but in St. Mark and in St. Luke there are numerous variations. Thus St. Mark reads "that seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand; lest haply they should turn again, and it should be forgiven them;" while St. Luke has, "that seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand." The meaning of the quotation is made clear in St. Matthew by the preceding verse, "because hearing they hear not, neither do they understand." Our Lord wished and meant the multitudes to hearken and understand, and His method awoke their interest, and deepened their attention, but the profit they received depended solely on the degree of their "faithfulness." If they listened with mere intellectual curiosity, or with hardened prejudice, they would carry away only the parable itself, or some misapplication of its essential details. To get at its real meaning required a simple faith and earnest meditation. Bacon's definition of a parable is exceedingly apposite here, "A parable has a double use, it tends to *vail*, and it tends to *illustrate* a truth; in the latter case it seems designed to *teach*, in the former to *conceal*."

In St. John xii. 40 the words are used by the Evangelist himself to explain the apparent failure of our

Lord's mission, and it is in this sense that they are used by St. Paul, both here, and in Rom. xi. 8, when dealing with the same subject, viz. the rejection of Israel. The action of Israel in the time of Isaiah is compared to the rejection of Christ and His Apostle by the Jews, with the additional factor that, in the latter case, the rejection is the fulfilment of prophecy.

In this oft-quoted passage Isaiah, Christ, and St. Paul are describing their experiences, and stating a great principle or truth[1] "that the effect of God's word upon many men is to deaden their spiritual faculties. The word of God has not only a saving power, but, even by its gentlest pleadings and its purest Gospel, even by the mouth of Him who came, not to condemn, but to save the world, it has a power that is judicial and condemnatory. One of the most deplorable facts of our own experience is that there exists in human nature an accursed gift for turning God's gifts to precisely the opposite ends from those which He gave them." The Apostle's experience was nothing new. The great prophet had had to learn the lesson, nay he was warned in his very commission that it would be so. The Master Himself had had sorrowfully to confess even His limitations when brought into contact with the hardened heart of man. The Apostle's experience at Rome was only the climax to a long process of learning that the condition into which the Jews had fallen rendered them absolutely incapable of receiving him and his Gospel.

[1] G. A. Smith, *Isaiah*, vol. i. pp. 80–88.

CHAPTER VII

THE SPEECHES AND THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CONVERSION EMPHASIZED IN THE SPEECHES.—One of the most significant features in the speeches of St. Paul during the trial process is the supreme importance attached in them to the fact, and the manner, of the conversion. We have two detailed and circumstantial accounts of it: (1) in the speech on the Castle steps, Acts xxii. 6–17, and (2) in his defence before Agrippa, Acts xxvi. 12–20, while Acts xxiii. 9 seems to imply that the story of the vision on the road to Damascus had formed an element in his speech on that occasion.

When we note that, in addition to the two complete accounts in the speeches, St. Luke has also given us his own version of the event in Acts ix., it becomes quite apparent that the unique position occupied by the fact of the conversion in the Apostle's mind had communicated itself to that of his companion, who probably derived his narrative from St. Paul himself.

THE DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THE VARIOUS ACCOUNTS IN THE NARRATIVE AND SPEECHES.—The discrepancies between the different descriptions of the conversion, first of all as given by St. Luke in the narrative, and afterwards, as recounted by the Apostle in the speeches, have been made the basis of fierce attacks not only on the authenticity of the records, but

have led many critics to reject the whole story as essentially unhistorical. It becomes necessary, therefore, to examine these variations with a view of arriving at some conclusion with regard to their effect on these two questions.

1. *The truth of the conversion as a fact.*

2. *The genuineness of the speeches,* of which the story of the conversion forms an integral part.

1. *The truth of the conversion as a fact.* The first point to be noted in our inquiry is that, as far as the main facts of the story are concerned, there is no discrepancy whatsoever. In all three accounts the event is connected with a journey to Damascus, on a mission of persecution authorized by the high priest and his party. Again, in all three the central feature of the incident is the shining of a supernatural light, which was accompanied by a voice directly addressed to Saul, and revealed by the character of the utterance to be that of Jesus of Nazareth. All three accounts also agree in declaring that the vision and voice were followed by a further revelation, in which Saul's mission as the Apostle of Christianity is proclaimed, and that the ultimate result of the incident was the transformation of Saul, the persecutor, into Paul, the Christian Apostle. Thus the main story follows exactly the same lines in all three versions, and the variations are confined to matters of detail, which in many cases are exceedingly trivial and unimportant.

The variations. The variations are found—

1. In the account of the vision—(*a*) With regard to effect of the vision on the Apostle's companions. Thus—

(1) Acts ix. 7, "They *stood speechless*, *hearing a voice*, but *beholding no man.*"

(2) Acts xxii. 9, "They *beheld* indeed the light, but they *heard not* the voice of Him that spake to me."

(3) Acts xxvi. 13, 14, "I saw a light from heaven . . . shining round about me and them which journeyed with me. And when *we were all fallen to the earth, I* heard a voice," where the narrative seems to imply that the companions saw the light, but did not hear the voice.

(*b*) *In the words spoken to Saul by our Lord.* (1) Acts ix. 5, 6, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me? I am Jesus whom thou persecutest: but rise and enter into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do."

(2) Act xxii. 8, 10, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me? I am Jesus of Nazareth whom thou persecutest. Arise and go into Damascus; and there it shall be told thee of all things which are appointed for thee to do."

(3) Acts xxvi. 14, 15, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me? it is hard for thee to kick against the goad. I am Jesus whom thou persecutest."

(*c*) *With regard to the identity of Ananias, and the part played by him in the incident.* (1) In Acts ix. 10, 17, 18, "And there was a certain disciple at Damascus named Ananias" to whom our Lord appeared in a vision, and who afterwards laid his hands on Saul so that his sight was restored and the gift of God's Holy Spirit bestowed upon him.

(2) In Acts xxii. 11, 12, "One Ananias, a devout man according to the law, well reported of by all the Jews" by means of whom Saul receives his sight, and from whom he received his Apostolic commission.

(3) In Acts xxvi. Ananias is not mentioned at all, and the words attributed to him in the two earlier accounts are here put in the mouth of Christ Himself.

(*d*) *The description of the mission at Damascus.* (1) In Acts ix. 20 ff. there is an account of a mission in Damascus itself, whereas in

(2) Acts xxii. no such preaching is mentioned, while

(3) Acts xxvi. supports (1); cf. v. 20, "I declared to them of Damascus first."

(*e*) *All the accounts agree in omitting all reference to the sojourn in Arabia*, which the Apostle himself emphasizes in Gal. i. 17.

Now taking each of these paragraphs in order—

(*a*) It will be observed that the variations under this heading are connected with the circumstances attending the vision, and they are no doubt due to the fact that the Apostle's recollection of the details of that event was not particularly clear or definite. This is only what we might expect, when it is realized that he was struck to the ground, deprived of his sight for three days, and that his whole being was filled with wonder and anxiety. The marvel is that his recital of the event and its surroundings is as coherent as we find it, and it is not too much to assert that the variations in the details give no ground whatsoever for doubting the truth of the incident itself.

(*b*) The significance of the variations here lies in the insertion of the words "it is hard for thee to kick against the goad" in the third account, while they are omitted in the other two. This may be explained in the case of the speeches by the character of the audience in point. The words would not appeal to the Jewish crowd listening to him at the foot of the Castle steps, but to the cosmopolitan gathering in the palace of Festus they would come with special force, being a familiar proverb in Greek and Latin.[1] This, however, does not explain how the proverb assumed its Hebrew guise (Acts xxvi. 14).

(*c*) Comparing the three accounts as they stand, it would seem that (1) and (2) give us a straightforward

[1] Æschylus, *Agam.*, 1624; Euripides, *Bacch.*, 795; Terence, *Phormio*, 1, 2, 27.

description of Ananias, and of the particular part played by him in the drama of the conversion. In (3), the speech before Agrippa, the story of the message and commission is told as it has become illustrated by the medium of the Apostle's own experience. In the light of that experience, Ananias, who was simply the instrument through whom the Lord's message was delivered, has vanished out of sight, and the commission, with all that it meant, as it had been explained and expanded by his subsequent Apostolic career, is seen in its naked simplicity as proceeding direct from Christ Himself. In this respect the description in Acts xxvi. is quite in harmony with his repeated declaration that he derived his ministry and Apostleship directly from our Lord Himself.

The emphasis laid on the identity of Ananias in Acts xxii., "a devout man according to the law, well reported of by all the Jews," is only another instance of St. Paul's tact in the presence of a hostile Jewish audience.

(*d*) All mention of the preaching in Damascus is omitted in (2), because it has no relevancy here. The Apostle is hurrying on to the main point of his speech, which was that it was in Jerusalem, and in the very Temple in which he was then standing, that his Mission to the Gentiles came to him from the lips of Christ Himself. The work at Damascus was not of sufficient importance to call for mention in a defence of this character, and, therefore, nothing is said about it.

(*e*) Prof. Ramsay[1] suggests that there is room for the visit to Arabia in Acts ix. He sees a decided break in the narrative between Acts ix. 19 and 20–23, which would allow for some such journey as is indicated in the Apostle's statement in Gal. i. 17, to have been undertaken. The ἡμέραι τινες of v. 19, and the ἡμέραι ἱκαναί

[1] Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 380.

of v. 3 represent different missions in Damascus, and between them the journey to Arabia might have taken place.

It will be thus seen that there is nothing in the variations themselves to destroy the evidence of the three accounts as to the truth of the fact of the conversion. In all three the spirit, the tone, and the essential features are the same. As a matter of fact, the story of the conversion is not rejected because of the discrepancies in the various editions of it, but on *a priori* objections to the supernatural element connected with it.

2. *The genuineness of the speeches.* The question of the genuineness of the speeches is somewhat different from that of the actual fact of his conversion, and may be open to some difficulty, and many critics freely allege that they are the composition of the author of the Acts, inserted in the narrative with some particular aim in view. According to Baur,[1] his object in introducing the conversion again is to provide a more subjective version, and to reveal its inner meaning, the narrative in Acts ix. being more concerned with the external circumstances. Others maintain that the tale is told and re-told in order to rivet the attention of the reader upon it, and to enhance its importance. The variations are, however, easily explainable on other grounds. They arise from the difference between a circumstantial narrative and a rhetorical appeal.[2] The very existence of the variations is a fatal objection to the theory that the speeches are the manufactured productions of the author, because, in that case, he would have been careful to ensure that the records were identical, and would not have allowed such discrepancies to creep in as would destroy the very object he had in view. On the other

[1] Baur, *Paulus*, i. 65, 66.
[2] Chase, *The Credibility of the Acts*, p. 70.

hand, the author must have noticed the existence of these variations, and yet his anxiety to produce an absolutely truthful record was superior to his desire to weld his materials into one harmonious whole.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF THE GENUINENESS OF THE EVENT, AND OF THE RECORD.—The genuineness of the event and the record is also supported by the manner in which the story coincides with references in other Pauline writings.[1]

1. *The coincidence with Gal. i.* 15–17, where the reference is clearly to the fact of the conversion, and *Damascus* is quite unconsciously inferred as the locality connected with it. His Apostleship is conferred *directly by Christ*, and "*the revelation of God*" is the primary cause of it; cf. Gal. i. 1 and 16. The *suddenness* of the event in the midst of persecution is also emphasized in Gal. i. 13.

2. *Coincidences with the First Epistle to Corinth.* Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 1, "Am I not an Apostle? Have I not seen the Lord?" where the origin of his Apostleship is connected with the vision of "the risen Lord"; also 1 Cor. xv. 8, ὡσπερεὶ τῷ ἐκτρώματι. Here both the suddenness, and the objective nature of the force exerted on him at his conversion, its violence and prematureness, are denoted by ἔκτρωμα (abortion).

WAS THE CONVERSION THE CLIMAX OF A LONG PERIOD OF PREPARATION?—The fact of the conversion is explained by many authorities on purely psychological grounds, as being nothing more than the last phase in a process which had been, for some considerable period, leading St. Paul in the direction of Christianity. This is not, however, the impression we gather from the description of the event, either as given by St. Luke, or by the Apostle himself in the

[1] Sabatier, *St. Paul*, p. 62.

speeches. Distinct emphasis is laid, both in the historical narrative in Acts ix. 3, and in the speech in Acts xxii. 6, on the absolute suddenness of the incident, and on the lack of any warning or element of preparation. Although the word "suddenly" is not employed in the speech before Agrippa, it is implied by the whole tone of the pronouncement, with its stress on the fact that the vision was vouchsafed to him while he was actually engaged in a task, the very object of which was to destroy Christianity. The sole support of the contrary position is to be found in the proverbial phrase, which, according to the Apostle's own account in Acts xxvi. 14, formed part of our Lord's appeal to him: "It is hard for thee to kick against the goad," which seems to imply that his recent policy had been pursued, in some degree, against the dictates of his own conscience. It is quite evident from the autobiographical passage in Rom. vii. that, previous to his conversion, the Apostle was by no means satisfied with his moral and spiritual condition, and that he was at times possessed by such deep anxiety as to lead him to despair of his own future, but there is no proof that he ever looked to Christianity for a remedy. That he had thought about Christianity is manifest from the fact that he had undertaken the persecution of it as the main object of his life, but his process of thought, far from leading him to find salvation in it, only increased his bitter rancour and enmity against it. Thus, although events had been driving him onward towards some solution of his difficulties, the Apostle himself was absolutely unconscious of any movement in the direction of Christianity. That he was prepared for some momentous change is beyond doubt. What the character of that change was to be was only revealed to him on the road to Damascus. It was an absolute revelation to him, unthought of, undreamt of, and that because of his

unswerving belief that Jesus had died a criminal's death on the Cross. As long as he held this belief, anything like an approach towards Christianity was out of the question. It was the sight of the living Christ, and nothing else, that could clothe Christianity with any value in the sphere of his religious life, but once the vision was realized, the change was absolute and instantaneous. The supernatural light which shone round about him pierced into the innermost recesses of his soul; all that had perplexed him and driven him well-nigh into despair became clear and simple in virtue of that revelation; Judaism, legal righteousness, the law itself as a way of salvation, all went by the board, and St. Paul, the Apostle of the Lord, was the fruit of the vision.

THE QUESTION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAULINE DOCTRINE.—At this point it may be well to touch upon the question whether the Pauline system of doctrine was fully born, like Athene from the head of Zeus, at the moment of conversion, or whether it was the result of gradual growth and development.

Prof. Bruce[1] maintains that with the conversion there came to the Apostle the conviction, arising from his own experience realized at that moment, that the grace of God was independent of all earthly conditions, that it might come to all men alike, to Gentiles not less than to Jews, and upon identical terms. Thus, therefore, there was an end to all Jewish privilege and prerogative, and his unswerving doctrine of the universality of Christianity was born at that instant.

M. Sabatier,[2] on the other hand, argues strongly for the theory of "development" in the Apostle's system of doctrine, and maintains that this is marked in the various groups of Epistles, which show the advancing steps in

[1] Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, p. 32.
[2] Sabatier, *St. Paul*, passim.

the process. According to him the Apostle did not realize the complete significance of his teaching except in the light and under the influence of his own experience as a Christian Apostle, and hence the doctrine of the later Epistles is richer, and on a different plane from that of the earlier ones.

The true view would seem to consist in a combination of the two theories. The germs of his system were doubtless contemporaneous with his conversion, and there must have been born within him then the conviction of the inefficiency of the law as a means of salvation, of the equality of all men before God, and of the catholicity of the power of Christ unto salvation.

What all this was to mean both for himself, for Judaism, and the world at large, time was to show, and experience to teach. A significant illustration of this is to be seen in the case of his special Mission to the Gentiles, which, although definitely laid upon him at the time of his conversion, was not carried out into actual practice until many years afterwards.

The significance of the conversion in the speeches. The prominent position occupied by the story of the conversion in the apologetic speeches is due to the fact that it was the one and only possible explanation of his life and career. The mystery to be solved was, How did this noted Jewish zealot, this hope of the Pharisaic party, this leader of the policy of persecution which sought to wipe Christianity out of existence, become transformed into the great Christian Apostle, the most active representative of the new teaching? In every speech uttered in his own defence the solution of the mystery is precisely the same. This marvellous, unspeakable change is to beattributed to one definite event, which took place on the road to Damascus, close to the city, when he was actually employed by the high priests in the work of

persecution, and this, and this only, explains the apparent anomaly. Whether to a mob of unfriendly Jews, or to the Jewish Sanhedrin, or to a mixed gathering consisting of pro-consular officials and the entourage of a Jewish king, the explanation is ever the same. "The risen Lord appeared to me, addressed me by name, called me to His service, and selected my sphere of labour. From that moment I have been His, body, soul, and spirit. The preaching of His Gospel has been the one task that has engrossed all my thought and energy, in the extension of His Kingdom I found the one purpose of my being. I have no life, no thought, no desire apart from Him, and when death brings to a close my earthly course, in Him I trust to find that rest from all my labours, the crown of reward of all my sufferings, and that peace which passeth all understanding." As has been well said by Prof. Ramsay,[1] "In the Divine reckoning St. Paul's life begins from his conversion and his call to the Gentiles. The conversion is the epoch-making fact. On our conception of that one event depends our whole view of his life, and every action must be considered in its relation to the conversion."

THE CONVERSION AND ST. PAUL'S TEACHING.—The conversion explains not only his career, but the whole of his teaching is also based upon it. It is not proposed to survey the whole field of Pauline theology, but only those portions which find a prominent place in the speeches, among which the following may be enumerated—

1. *The Resurrection.* The one main topic of all the speeches is the "resurrection of Christ," and its resultant, "the resurrection of the dead in Christ," and its prominence is due to the fact of its being the one salient feature in the process of his conversion. The Jesus of Nazareth, the condemned, executed criminal who had

[1] Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, p. 272.

paid on the Cross the dread penalty of His evil deeds against Jewish law and religion, had appeared to him, and was, therefore, alive. This was the effective cause of the complete transformation in his conceptions and conduct. Hence the central theme of his Gospel was "the resurrection of Christ," and it makes its appearance in practically every one of his speeches.

(*a*) *At Antioch in Pisidia.* Acts xvii. 32, 33: "The promise made unto the fathers. God hath fulfilled the same unto our children, in that He *raised up Jesus.*"

(*b*) *At Athens.* Acts xvii. 31: The risen Christ is to be the Judge "in that He hath *raised him from the dead.*"

(*c*) *On the Castle steps.* Acts xxii. 17, 18: A second appearance of the Lord in the Temple is recorded.

(*d*) *Before the Sanhedrin.* Acts xxiii. 6: "Touching the hope and *resurrection of the dead* I am called in question."

(*e*) *Before Felix.* Acts xxiv. 15: "Having hope towards God which they themselves also look for, that there shall be *a resurrection* both of the just and the unjust."

Also Acts xxiv. 21: "Touching *the resurrection of the dead* I am called in question before you this day."

(*f*) *Before Agrippa.* Acts xxvi. 8: "Why is it judged incredible with you, *if God doth raise the dead?*"

Also Acts xxvi. 23: "How that he first *by the resurrection of the dead* should proclaim light both to the Gentiles and to the people."

2. *The process of salvation.* This is outlined in the speech before Agrippa. Cf. Acts xxvi. 18, "To *open their eyes*, that they may *turn from darkness* to *light* and from the power of *Satan* unto *God*, that they may receive *remission of sins*, and an *inheritance* among them that are sanctified *by faith* in *me*," and also Acts xxvi. 20, "That they should *repent* and *turn* to God."

Here again the teaching is the direct outcome of his own experience, and *his* experience was to be that of all who followed the example of his conversion. The three days' darkness, and the subsequent restoration to sight through the medium of Ananias, symbolized, in a wonderfully effective manner, his transference from the realm of spiritual darkness in which he had formerly dwelt to the eternal light in Christ Jesus. His life in Judaism was a life of bondage, where sin and Satan ruled and tyrannized, and out of this he was removed to the land of promise where God reigns. Combining the latter part of Acts xxvi. 18 with Acts xxii. 16, where the process of salvation is connected with Baptism, we arrive at St. Paul's conception of God's part in the process.

It consists in the free forgiveness of sins, and the adoption into God's family, whereby the convert is transferred from the position of a slave into that of a son and heir among the saints of God. The whole process is summed up in the phrase "by faith in me," faith in Christ being the one efficient cause.

This brings us to our next point.

3. *Justification by faith.* This, the great characteristic Pauline doctrine, is emphasized in the sermon at Pisidian Antioch, Acts xiii. 38, 39; at Ephesus, Acts xx. 21; and before Agrippa, in Acts xxvi. 18. The doctrine itself is absolutely rooted in the fact of his conversion, and has no meaning apart from it. It was the natural corollary to his own deliverance from the despair and darkness which were inseparably connected with his life in Judaism. This is the aspect of it which is set forth in the sermon at Antioch, where he declares that by Christ "every one that believeth is justified from all things from which we could not be justified by the Law of Moses," and is afterwards expanded in the Epistle to

the Romans. The one aim and object of St. Paul's life had been the search after righteousness. His whole life in Judaism had had this as its ruling principle. The strictness of the Pharisee in keeping the observances of the Law, moral and ceremonial, and the zeal of the persecutor were in accordance with this scheme of life, which was to attain unto righteousness before God. But all had been entirely in vain. "Righteousness," as he understood it, proved by such means unattainable, despair and misery were the sole outcome of his efforts. And then there had come, without any warning, the revelation of "the Righteous One" (Acts xxii. 14), and his darkened soul was illumined with light. "Righteousness" was attainable, and that in all its fulness, comprising the blotting out of the sins of the past, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified, in the future. Furthermore, his own experience is the guarantee that this "righteousness" is within reach of all, without distinction of race, language, or religious position, with only one condition, the possession of "faith" on the part of the seeker. His own deliverance from despair, the successful termination of his search, the complete satisfaction of the deepest needs of his own soul, have been attained in entire independence of his previous racial or religious position. His Judaism, his knowledge and practice of the Mosaic Law had done nothing more for him than to reveal the need of some higher gift than they could supply, and what was possible for him, was, by God's grace, within reach of all who seek Him "in faith."

There is a wonderful unity about the Pauline doctrine of "justification" which arises from the fact that the doctrine is a reflexion of his own experience. We realize in it a development from the concrete into the abstract, from experiences to principles. Nothing but

the fact of the conversion can explain the doctrinal system, which has been directly transcribed from his life into the realm of thought, and in which the very depths of his inmost soul are stated in terms of philosophical and theological import.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

WE are now in a position to sum up the results of our inquiry, and it becomes possible to arrive at an estimate of what elements of the Apostle's life, character, and teaching are derivable from his spoken utterances alone, independently of his written documents. It will be found that if our knowledge of St. Paul had been confined to what we are able to gather from the speeches, and if not a particle of other Pauline literature had been preserved, we should be in possession of a fairly detailed and accurate picture of the great Apostle in all the important phases of his career, in the dramatic story of his life, the main characteristic of his personality, and the emphatic features of his doctrinal system.

Taking each of these points in order we shall, first of all, learn what the speeches have to tell us about the story of his life.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ST. PAUL'S LIFE DRAWN FROM HIS SPEECHES.—1. *His early life and conversion.* St. Paul was born in Tarsus, an important city in Cilicia, of Jewish parents [1] (Acts xxii. 3), who occupied a position of some social importance, his father being not only in possession of the citizenship of Tarsus, but also of the far greater privilege, the citizenship of the Empire (Acts xxii. 28). But although born at Tarsus,

[1] There is no definite mention of the fact that he belonged to the tribe of Benjamin in the speeches, but there is a very pointed reference to the tribe in Acts xiii. 21.

he was, comparatively early in life, sent to Jerusalem, where his education was conducted in the School of Gamaliel, the most famous Jewish Rabbi of the period (Acts xxii. 3).

In his religious convictions he was associated with the strictest section of the Pharisaic party, as his father had been before him (Acts xxiii. 6), and he soon acquired a reputation among his contemporaries for his excessive zeal on behalf of all that was distinctive of that party (Acts xxvi. 5). This enthusiasm manifested itself principally in the form of very marked hostility towards the new religion connected with the name of Christ, which was beginning to assume considerable prominence in Jerusalem and in the neighbouring cities (Acts xxvi. 11). He took a leading part in the judicial murder of St. Stephen, who was the first Christian to suffer a violent death (Acts xxii. 20). His devotion to the cause of Judaism, and his hostility to Christianity, attracted the notice of the Jewish hierarchy, by whom he is now employed as the principal agent in the efforts they made to check the growth of that movement (Acts xxii. 5 ; xxvi. 10). Meanwhile he would seem to have attained to a position of some importance among the ruling powers, for we find that he gives his vote when the question of condemning Christians to death is at issue (Acts. xxvi. 10). This is emphasized by his manner of addressing the Sanhedrin, the members of which he salutes as "brethren" on an equality with himself (Acts xxiii. 1). It was while he was on the way to Damascus, on a mission of persecution authorized by the high priests, that the event took place which marked the turning-point of his life. The main feature of the incident was the shining of a supernatural light (Acts xxii. 6 ; xxvi. 13), so brilliant as to produce a temporary blindness (Acts xxii. 13). The appearance of the light

was followed by a voice which challenged him in the Hebrew tongue (Acts xxvi. 14), and which was revealed to be that of Jesus of Nazareth, Whom in the persons of His followers he was persecuting (Acts xxii. 7; xxvi. 14). The revelation of the personality of the Speaker was followed by distinct instructions being given to the erstwhile persecutor to proceed to the city of Damascus, where he was to receive further information as to the purpose God had in store for him. On his arrival in the city he is interviewed by Ananias, a Christian Jew of devout habits and good repute, by whom his sight is restored (Acts xxii. 10–14), and from whom he receives an explanation of the future that awaits him as a Christian convert. He is to be "a witness unto all men of what he has seen and heard." In another version of the story (Acts xxvi. 17, 18) the commission is more fully expanded. It is to be a Mission to "the Gentiles, to open their eyes that they may turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive remission of sins, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in me." Seeing that he is qualified on the score of repentance and faith, he becomes the recipient of Christian Baptism, followed by the gift of forgiveness of his sins, and is formally enrolled in the Christian body (Acts xxii. 16). The Apostle's own description in Acts xxvi. 19, 20 seems to imply that he lost no time before entering upon his evangelistic labours, and that, first of all in Damascus, then in Jerusalem, and finally in the world at large, he proclaimed the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It was during this first visit to Jerusalem, soon after his conversion, that his special Mission to the Gentiles was emphatically defined by a vision of the Lord vouchsafed to him while engaged in prayer in the Temple (Acts xxii. 18).

Up to this point the story of his life, as told in the speeches, has been fairly continuous, but it now becomes fragmentary, and we have to be content with an occasional reference.

We have no details of the events of the First or Second Missionary Journeys in any one of the addresses, although we have reports of three sermons delivered during that period, and it is not until we reach the period of his ministry at Ephesus that we have anything like detailed information.

2. *St. Paul at Ephesus.*—From the address to the Elders of the Ephesian Church we learn that his ministry at Ephesus lasted for the space of three years (Acts xx. 31), and that, during that period, he laboured among them, both in private and in public, and that in order to spare the Church any expense, he worked with his own hands for his own support and that of his companions (Acts xx. 34). We also gather that it was a time of great anxiety and much suffering, during which the Apostle's heart was lacerated by persecution from outside, and by suspicion and disloyalty from within (Acts xx. 19, 26, 27, 33).

The speech was delivered when he was on his way to Jerusalem, and at a time when his soul was full of foreboding as to the future that awaited him personally (Acts xx. 22), and the perils in store for the Ephesian Church (Acts xx. 29, 30). His sadness was intensified by his conviction that they should see him no more (Acts xx. 25).

3. *The trial.*—The references in the speeches to the events of the trial are numerous, and enable us, without any further information, to draw up a fairly complete narrative of the process. In his defence before Felix (Acts xxiv. 11) he explains that he had arrived in Jerusalem twelve days previously, in order

to hand over to the authorities of the Christian Church in Jerusalem the proceeds of a collection made during his Missionary travels on behalf of the poor of that Church, and, possibly, in connection with the fulfilment of the requirements of a vow that he had undertaken (Acts xxiv. 17). It was while he was in the Temple in connection with a vow (either his own, or that of others with whom he had associated himself) that he was seen by certain Jews from Asia, who provoked a riot, and accused him of profaning the Temple (Acts xxiv. 12, 18), and would have killed him had he not been delivered by the special interposition of providence (Acts xxvi. 21, 22). He is charged by the Jews, before the Roman authorities, on three counts—

(1) That he is a disturber of the public peace (Acts xxiv. 12, 18; xxv. 8).

(2) That he is an offender against Jewish law (Acts xxv. 8).

(3) That he has profaned the Temple (Acts xxiv. 12; xxv. 8).

He proclaims his innocence of all these offences in the most emphatic terms (Acts xxiv. 12, 13, 19, 20, 21; xxv. 8, 11).

If the preaching of Christianity is an offence against Roman law he acknowledges his guilt, but at the same time protests that if he is guilty, all Jews are equally guilty, because his Gospel is only the fulfilment of the promise made by God to the Jewish nation, and the hope that he proclaims is the "hope of Israel" (Acts xxiv. 14, 15; xxvi. 6, 7; xxviii. 20).

Because Festus suggests that he should be sent to Jerusalem to take his trial before the Sanhedrin he appeals to Cæsar (Acts xxv. 11). In his interview with the leaders of the Jews in Rome he defends his action, in this particular, on the ground that he was compelled,

for his own safety, to place himself under the protection of the Imperial authority, because of the hostility of the Jews (Acts xxviii. 17, 18).

One picturesque detail of the imprisonment, the chain on his wrist by which he was fastened to the soldier who guarded him, is referred to twice in the speeches, before Agrippa (Acts xxvi. 29), and in Rome (Acts xxviii. 20).

THE PERSONALITY OF ST. PAUL AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE SPEECHES.—The striking personality of the Apostle is more richly illustrated in the speeches than even the facts of his life.

Among the many outstanding features of his character may be noted the following—

(*a*) *His unfailing tact and courtesy.* These characteristics are manifest in all the speeches, with the one exception of the speech before the Council (Acts xxiii. 3–8). On every occasion he is the true Christian gentleman. This is particularly noticeable in the manner in which he addresses his various audiences, whose sympathy he is anxious to gain. Striking instances of this are seen in the increasing warmth of his references to the Gentile section of his hearers at Pisidian Antioch, in his courteous salutation even to the excited crowd at Lystra, as "Sirs," and, still more so, in his treatment of the Athenian audience, whom he salutes in true classical style as Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, to whom he quotes one of their own poets, and for whose sake the whole address is clothed in a philosophical dress. The Jews in the Temple, who but a moment before were thirsting for his blood, are "Brethren and fathers," they are addressed in their own dialect, and no effort is spared to secure their goodwill. In his courteous references to Felix and Herod Agrippa, and in his anxiety to conciliate his Jewish brethren in Rome, we find

proof of the same tactful and wise elements of his character.

(*b*) *His cosmopolitanism.* Closely connected with the preceding characteristic, and, to some extent explaining it, is his cosmopolitanism. St. Paul was essentially a citizen of the world, at home and perfectly at ease amid all surroundings. Whether among his own countrymen, in Jerusalem before the Council, or in the Synagogues of the "dispersion"; or among Gentiles, in the case of the uncultured peasants of Phrygia, or the refined philosophers of Athens; or, again, in the courts of proconsuls, and in the presence of kings, in all cases he maintains the same calm, dignified, confident attitude. To his cosmopolitanism, the result of his surroundings in the city of Tarsus, we must attribute his wide tolerance and sympathy, which are such striking features of his sermons at Lystra and Athens.

(*c*) *His thoroughness.* Another very prominent trait in the Apostle's character, of which we find abundant manifestation in the speeches, is his thoroughness. We find this thoroughness, this "passion for the absolute," entering into every department of his life and labour, as the following quotations show.

(1) *As a Pharisee.* He was instructed "according to the *strict* manner of the law of our fathers, being zealous for God" (Acts xxii. 3).

"I am a Pharisee, a *son of* Pharisees" (Acts xxiii. 6).

"After the *straitest sect* of our religion, I lived a Pharisee" (Acts xxvi. 5).

(2) *As a persecutor of Christians.* "I persecuted this Way *to death*, binding and delivering into prisons *both men and women*" (Acts xxii. 4).

"I verily thought with myself that I ought to do *many things* contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth. This also I did in Jerusalem, and I both shut up many of the

saints in prisons, and when they were *put to death, I* gave my vote against them. And punishing them oftentimes *in all* the synagogues, I *strove* to make them blaspheme; and being *exceedingly mad* against them, I persecuted them *even unto foreign cities*" (Acts xxvi. 9, 10, 11).

(3) *As a Christian Apostle.* "Ye yourselves know, from the first day that I set foot in Asia, after what manner I was with you *all the time*, serving the Lord *with all lowliness of mind*, and with *tears*."

"I shrank not from declaring unto you *anything* that was profitable, and teaching you *publicly*, and *from house to house*, testifying *both* to *Jews* and to *Gentiles*."

"I testify unto you that I am pure from the blood of *all men.* For I shrank not from declaring unto you the *whole* counsel of God."

"I ceased not to admonish you *every one night and day with tears*."

"Ye yourselves know that *these hands ministered* unto my necessities."

"*In all things* I gave you an example" (Acts xx. 18, 20, 26, 27, 31, 33, 34, 35).

"Wherefore O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision, but declared *both to them of Damascus* first, and *at Jerusalem*, and *throughout all the country of Judæa*, and *also* to the *Gentiles*, that they should repent and turn to God" (Acts xxvi. 19, 20).

"I stand unto this day, testifying *both to small and great*" (Acts xxvi. 22).

(*d*) *His affectionate disposition and emotional character.* We find scattered throughout his addresses evidences of his affectionate disposition and of his emotional character. This is seen more especially in his address to the Elders of the Church of Ephesus, which is charged with emotion, and reveals throughout the Apostle's love for his flock, and his sadness at parting from them. Cf.

especially Acts xx. 25, "I know that ye all, among whom I went preaching the kingdom, shall see my face no more"; Acts xx. 19, 31, with the repeated emphasis on the word "tears"; and his affectionate commendation of the Church to the care of God in Acts xx. 32.

(*e*) *His sensitiveness.* This feature in his character is also manifested in the address at Miletus. He had been deeply wounded "in the house of his friends," and his heart was too tender not to feel the hurt, and his temper perhaps too impetuous to allow him to suffer in silence. The false charges of self-interest, insincerity, and of inefficiency had reached home, and the passionate repudiation of the accusations reveals the effect that they have produced on his sensitive soul. It is, however, not for his own sake only that his indignation is aroused. He is the Apostle of Christ, and the Master's honour is impugned in the person of His servant and Apostle.[1]

(*f*) *His personal courage and resourcefulness.* That St. Paul knew not what fear meant is made clear by his actions—

(1) In returning to Lystra after he had been stoned.

(2) In going up to Jerusalem against the unanimous advice of his friends, and in spite of the perils which he knew, by instinct, must await him (Acts xx. 22, 23).

(3) In facing the infuriated Jewish mob and addressing them in the outer court of the Temple (Acts xxi. 37–40).

(*g*) *His conscientiousness.* Special emphasis is laid by the Apostle himself in several speeches on his subjection to the rule of conscience.

"I am pure from the blood of all men" (Acts xx. 26).

"I have lived before God in all good conscience until this day" (Acts xxiii. 1).

"Herein do I also exercise myself to have a

[1] Chase, *The Credibility of the Acts*, p. 243.

conscience void of offence toward God and men alway" (Acts xxiv. 16).

In this connection we may also note—

(*h*) *His strong sense of responsibility towards the Church of Christ.* This is apparent in the whole tone of the address at Miletus, with its solemn charge to the Elders, and its grave warnings as to the dangers that await their flock in the future.

Towards the Churches that he has founded he is none less than the vicar of Christ Himself.

"Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock."

"Wherefore watch we, remembering."

"In all things I gave you an example" (Acts xx. 28, 31, 35).

THE DOCTRINE OF THE SPEECHES.—*a. The Theology.* We find in the speeches the idea of God presented from three different points of view, according to the character of the audience which is being addressed, so that we have the conception of God as presented—

(1) To the Jews,

(2) To the Gentiles,

(3) To the Christian Church.

1. *The doctrine of God as preached to the Jews.* God is the God of Israel, the God of their fathers, to Whose agency the whole history of the nation is due. He chose them from among all the nations of the world to be His own peculiar people, He delivered them from the captivity of Egypt, and patiently endured their manifold weaknesses in the Wilderness. It was He Who destroyed the seven nations of Canaan before them, and gave them the land for their inheritance. It was His hand that guided their future destinies and conducted their education, first of all under judges, and afterwards under kings. This period of preparation He brought to a climax by the sending of Jesus, a Saviour,

to the truth of Whose Person and Mission He testified by raising Him from the dead, and thus brought to nought the machinations of the Jews against Him. From God came the promise, which formed the very *rationale* of their national and religious existence. In God their undying hope was founded, and it was to Him that their unceasing service and devotion were offered. The promise was fulfilled, the hope realized, the zealous service rewarded in the coming of Christ, Whom God raised from the dead (Acts xiii. 14, 17–22, 23, 29, 33; xxvi. 5, 6, 7).

2. *The doctrine of God as preached to the Gentiles.* The main characteristic of this is its breadth of aspect, which differentiates it considerably from that generally found in the Epistles. The God Whom the Apostle proclaims at Lystra and Athens is a living God, supreme Lord of the universe, which He brought into existence by His creative power. Man is also the product of His handiwork. Now this God is not only the God of Creation, but He is also the God of Providence, "Who gives rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, and fills the hearts of all with food and gladness." This God, supreme over all things, cannot therefore be confined within Temple walls, or be dependent upon the gifts and services of men. With reference to man He is the Creator, Provider, and Ruler, Who devised the very purpose of his being, and regulates all the processes by which his destiny is fulfilled.

All that concerns the evolution of the human race, the differentiation of nations, seasons, and climates, proceeds from Him. The object of man's existence is to seek after God and find Him, and this ought not to present any difficulty seeing that He is very near to each one of us. Our physical powers, our intellectual and spiritual life, we all derive from Him. "In Him

we live, and move, and have our being." He is truly immanent in all nature, but yet not absorbed by it, remaining separate and independent of all the works of His creation. In virtue of the fact that He is the Creator and Ruler of the universe, and of man, He is our Father, and we His children. That man should stoop to idolatry is, therefore, an insult to the majesty and glory of God, and utterly unworthy of man himself. God has, however, overlooked those periods of ignorance, when man culpably failed to find Him, but now He draws nigh with a peremptory call to repentance, coupled with a solemn warning of a judgment to come (Acts xiv. 15–17; xvii. 24–31).

3. *The Christian conception of God.* To the Apostle himself, and, therefore, to Christians generally, the *will of God* is the one motive power of his life and ministry (Acts xxii. 14), and the very object of his existence is to maintain *a conscience* void of offence *towards God* (Acts xxiv. 16). His Gospel is "the Gospel of the *grace of God*" and "the whole *counsel of God*."

The Church is "the *Church of God* purchased with His own blood." It is also "the flock of God" to Whose loving care the Apostle commends it (Acts xx. 28).

"Conversion" means the transference from the power of Satan unto God (Acts xxvi. 18), and the prelude to conversion is repentance towards God (Acts xx. 21; xxvi. 20).

His own personal safety is due to the personal intervention of God (Acts xxvi. 22).

It is noteworthy that the Fatherhood of God is not specifically in the Christian section of the speeches.

b. The Christology. The Christology of the speeches reaches its highest development, as we might naturally expect, in that which is addressed to a Christian assembly, viz. the speech to the Elders at Miletus.

The Divine character of Christ is, however, emphasized in all the Pauline utterances, with the exception of the sermon at Lystra, and all the main incidents of His Passion may be gathered from them.

1. *Incidents in the life of Christ mentioned in the speeches—*

His condemnation by Pontius Pilate (Acts xiii. 28).

His death (Acts xiii. 27 and xxvi. 23).

The manner of His death, by crucifixion (Acts xiii. 28).

His burial (Acts xiii. 29).

His resurrection from the dead (Acts xiii. 30, 34, 37; xvii. 31; xxvi. 23).

(It is also implied in Acts xxiii. 6; xxiv. 21).

His subsequent appearance to the companions of His Ministry (Acts xiii. 31), and to the Apostle himself, implied in Acts xxii. 6–10; xxvi. 13–18.

The *fact* of the *Ascension* is not mentioned, but this is also implied in the story of the vision on the road to Damascus.

2. *The prerogatives of Christ.* (*a*) *To the Jews.* In Him the promise given to the Fathers receives its fulfilment, and the hope of Israel is realized (Acts xiii. 23; xxvi. 6, 7; xxviii. 20).

He is also "the Righteous One" in Whom the Jewish ideal finds its complete realization (Acts xxii. 14).

In virtue of His death and resurrection the gift of the remission of sins is freely offered, and faith in Him is the one efficient basis of justification (Acts xiii. 38, 39; xxvi. 18). In Acts xxvi. 23, He is also the Christ, the Anointed Messiah.

(*b*) *To the Gentiles.* God hath entrusted to Him the office of Judge (Acts xvii. 31).

(*c*) *To Christians.* He is the Lord Whom the Apostle serves with all lowliness of mind, and with tears (Acts

xx. 19). He is also the Lord Jesus Christ, and faith in Him, combined with repentance towards God, forms the main element of the Pauline Gospel (Acts xx. 21).

He is the Lord Jesus from Whose hands the Apostle received his Apostleship and Ministry (Acts xx. 24). With His precious blood the Father purchased His Church, and to His loving care (if the marginal reading be adopted) the members of that Church are commended (Acts xx. 24, 32), while He alone has power to build them up, and to give them an inheritance among the saints (Acts xx. 32; xxvi. 18). It is with a pregnant saying of the Lord Jesus that he closes this, the most emotional and personal of all his speeches (Acts xx. 35).

3. *The Sonship of Christ.* The *Sonship* is taught in Acts xiii. 33, and also in Acts xx. 28.

4. *The Kingship of Christ.* The *Kingship* is implied in Acts xiii. 21–23, 34–37.

5. *Jesus of Nazareth is the Lord*: In the story of the conversion Jesus of Nazareth is also the Lord, Who appears to St. Paul on the road to Damascus. He also delivers to him his commission as the Apostle of the Gentiles, lays down the terms of the Gospel that he is to preach, and the purpose of it, and bases the whole scheme of salvation upon faith in Himself (Acts xxvi. 15–19).

c. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The only one of the speeches in which the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit are touched upon is the address at Miletus. There we find that—

(1) God's Holy Spirit is the inspirer of prophecy (Acts xx. 23).

(2) The function of the Holy Spirit in the ordination of the Ministry of the Christian Church is emphasized (Acts xx. 28).

d. "*The Gospel*" *in the speeches.* The Gospel which St. Paul proclaims in his speeches is an expansion of the familiar text, "It is the power of God unto salvation" (Rom. i. 16).

Its universality is taught in Acts xiii. 38, where he declares that "every one is justified that believeth," and again in Acts xxvi. 18, where he describes the purpose of his Mission, "that he should proclaim light both to the Gentiles and to the people."

How he fulfilled that Mission is explained in Acts xx. 21, in which he describes himself as "testifying both to Jews and Greeks repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ."

The content of the Gospel. (*a*) *To the Jews* at Antioch in Pisidia and at Rome the Pauline Gospel is "the word of this salvation" (Acts xiii. 26), and the Gospel of "the salvation of God" (Acts xxviii. 28).

It is the proclamation of the realization of the promise made to the Fathers (Acts xiii. 33), and the fulfilment of the dearest hopes of the nation (Acts xxviii. 20).

The effect of its reception is the remission of sins (Acts xiii. 38), and to him who accepts the message in faith it guarantees forgiveness and justification before God.

(*b*) *To the heathen at Lystra* it is a Gospel of "good tidings" to turn them "from vain things unto the living God" (Acts xiv. 15).

(*c*) *To the cultured Athenian* it reveals "the unknown God," Whom he had worshipped in ignorance (Acts xvii. 23), and its salient feature is a call to universal repentance, based on the certain approach of judgment by Him Whose authority is guaranteed by His resurrection from the dead (Acts xvii. 30, 31).

(*d*) *To the world at large* the Mission of the Gospel as

described by our Lord Himself is "to open their eyes that they may turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive remission of sins, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified." The secret of its power is faith in Christ (Acts xxvi. 18).

(*e*) *To the Christians at Miletus* the main features of the Gospel message are the call to repentance toward God, and the inculcation of faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ (Acts xx. 21).

In it is also proclaimed "the loving grace of God" (Acts xx. 24), while the completeness of the revelation is emphasized in the contention that he has declared to them "the whole counsel of God."

e. The Church in the speeches. The conception of the Church in the speeches is mostly Jewish and Old Testament in its character.

The Church is a Kingdom. "I went about preaching the kingdom," "Testifying the kingdom of God" (Acts xx. 25; xxviii. 23). The idea of the Church as a "kingdom" is also implicit in the sermon at Antioch, with its insistence upon the typical kingdom of David. It is in this sermon that we detect the dawn of a new conception of Christianity as an Imperial religion, which exercised such a profound influence both upon his writings and upon his later career.

The influence of Jewish ideas is also noticeable in the following conceptions of the Church—

(*a*) "The Church of God which He purchased with His own blood" (Acts xx. 28).
(*b*) The Flock (Acts xx. 28).
(*c*) The Way (Acts xxii. 4; xxiv. 14).

(*a*) The Church is regarded as the ideal Israel, and the words themselves are undoubtedly an echo of Psalm

lxxiv. 2, "O think upon Thy congregation whom Thou hast purchased and redeemed of old."

Ἐκκλησία is used here to denote the whole body of Christians, and not any particular Church, such as that of Ephesus.

(*b*) Here again the Apostle is influenced by Old Testament ideals, although it is by no means improbable that our Lord's own discourse on "the Good Shepherd" may have suggested the comparison.

(*c*) The reference here may be to our Lord's words in which He claims to be "the Way" (St. John xiv. 6), or when He spoke of "the narrow way" unto life (St. Matt. vii. 14).

It is possible that in Christ, and therefore in Christianity, the Apostle sees the fulfilment of the prophecy in Isaiah xl. 3, "Prepare ye *the way* of the Lord," and in Isaiah xxxv. 8, "*And an highway* shall be there, and it shall be called *the way* of holiness." Cf. also Mal. iii. 1, "Behold I will send My messenger, and He shall prepare the way before Me."

(*d*) Another synonym for the Church in the speeches is the term "saints." This word, which is a commonplace in the Epistles, occurs twice only, and that in a participial form, in the speeches, in Acts xx. 32, "To give you the inheritance among them *that are sanctified*," and in Acts xxvi. 18, "That they may receive the inheritance among them *that are sanctified*."

f. The doctrine of the Atonement in the speeches. The doctrine of the Atonement is taught explicitly in Acts xx. 28, "The Church of God which He purchased with His own blood," and is implied in the speeches at Antioch, and before Agrippa, where the strongest emphasis is laid on the death and resurrection of Christ (Acts xiii. 27, 30, 33; xxvi. 23).

With the use of the term "blood" in Acts xx. 28 may be compared Ephes. i. 7, ii. 13, "In whom we have redemption through His blood." "But now in Christ Jesus ye that were once far off are made nigh in the blood of Christ."

Also Col. i. 20, "Having made peace through the blood of His cross."

CONCLUSION.—Such, then, is the picture of St. Paul which we derive from the speeches, in respect of the story of his life, his personal character, and his teaching. It is somewhat difficult, therefore, to understand the force of such statements as that of Prof. Davidson,[1] who sees in St. Paul, the speaker, a different type from St. Paul, the letter-writer. The image in the speeches is perhaps somewhat paler, and does not possess that fulness of colouring which is found in the Apostle of the Epistles, but the lineaments in both portraits are identical. In some respects, as in the wealth of material as to the details of his life, and in the light they throw upon the more striking traits of his character, the speeches are even more significant than the Epistles. The difference, upon which the attacks of the critics is based, lies in the region of his teaching, and this difference is easily explained.

In the case of the Missionary sermons it is impossible to institute a comparison, as we have no letters addressed to a non-Christian community. The speeches of the trial, again, are mostly personal in character, addressed to Jews or Romans, and therefore have little in common with letters to Christian communities, dealing with subjects which would only appeal to, and be understood by, those who had embraced Christianity. It is a fact of the greatest significance that the one and only utterance we possess, addressed to a congregation

[1] Davidson, *Intro. to the New Test.*, vol. ii. p. 94.

of Christians, is the one which exhibits the most complete harmony with the Epistles. If the speeches were not delivered by the Apostle at all, but are the compositions of the author of the Acts, inserted with a deliberate purpose, why did a writer of such wonderful literary power as St. Luke is universally acknowledged to be not ensure that they should be of a character as not to raise any suspicions of their genuineness? That he could have produced Pauline speeches which would have passed muster on this score is sufficiently evident from a study of the Acts. He chose rather to include the speeches as we possess them, with their many difficulties, their manifest inconsistencies on some points, because they represent the genuine utterances of his master. In many cases they were delivered in his own presence, and, where this is not the case, the records were derived from persons who were well qualified to answer for their relative accuracy.

In every case the address is admirably adapted to the occasion which evoked it, and its idiosyncrasies are explained by circumstances which accompanied the delivery of it.

The element of artificiality is conspicuous by its absence, and every speech is the spontaneous outcome of the events which preceded it. Equally prominent is the lack of anything resembling sensationalism, which we should naturally expect in a manufactured production. The speech at Lystra is followed by the stoning of the Apostle, the wonderful address at Athens leads to no decisive result, and failure is writ largely on the face of both.

Where the speeches can be compared with the Epistles, points of resemblance abound, in style, phraseology, and matter. In many cases the harmony is so subtle and unobtrusive as almost to effectually bar the theory that

they are the work of a forger.[1] The conclusion at which the writer has arrived, after this exhaustive study of the orations of St. Paul, is that they are the genuine utterances of the Apostle, but that they exhibit, in varying degrees, the undoubted influence of the editor, St. Luke, and that we have in them a priceless contribution towards our knowledge of St. Paul's life, character, and teaching.

[1] Chase, *The Credibility of the Acts*, p. 291.

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